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A History of Creeds
AND
Confessions of Faith
In Christendom and Beyond

WITH HISTORICAL TABLES

BY

WILLIAM A. CURTIS

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HOLY FATHER, keep them in thy name which thou hast given me, that they may be one even as we. . . . Sanctify them in the truth. . . . that they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us: that the world may believe that thou didst send me.

JOHN xvii. 11, 17, 21.

BY this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.

JOHN xiii. 35.

JOHN said unto him, Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name: and we forbade him, because he followed not us. But Jesus said, Forbid him not: for there is no man which shall do a mighty work in my name, and be able quickly to speak evil of me. For he that is not against us is for us.

MARK ix. 38-40.

I BESEECH you, brethren, through the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfected together in the same mind and in the same judgement. For it hath been signified unto me . . . that there are contentions among you . . . that each one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? was Paul crucified for you? or were ye baptized into the name of Paul?

1 COR. i. 10-13.

To the Memory of

Robert Flint

A Teacher revered and beloved

and to

The Faculties of Divinity

in

The Universities of Edinburgh and Aberdeen

My Teachers and my Colleagues

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PREFACE.

I BELIEVE there is room, and need, for a book such as this on the Creeds and Confessions of the religious world, which in a single volume aims at supplying not only the scholar and student, but also the general reader, with the accurate information he requires for an intelligent appreciation of the history and literature of dogma.

The age in which we live does not number among its feverish activities the business of creed-making. But it is more patient than its forerunner, and more reverent, towards the great monuments of the craft. With the revival of constructive theology a certain wistful envy of their intellectual confidence and thoroughness is making itself heard in our midst. What Ruskin says by way of explanation of our inability to create new styles or orders in architecture, may well be applied to the province of theology to account for our confessional sterility: "We cannot design because we have too much to think of, and we think of it too anxiously." We hesitate to design, and to build, because we have surveyed the ruin of too many past systems and are fastidiously looking for imperishable materials as well as for an unimprovable design. The house we long to build is to be vaster, capable of accommodating under its spreading roof not individuals or families only, but churches, peoples, even religions. And we suspect that if all men are to live in it, all must have some voice in the adjustment of the plan,—their spiritual

comfort must be consulted if it is to be their lasting home. But if we are not making Confessions of Faith for ourselves, we are thinking about it ; we are interested in the handiwork of earlier ages, and we can contemplate it without a Vandal impulse of the fingers to destroy it. If we have been through the conflict of faith, and feel, like King David, that other hands, heirs of the quiet we have wrested from the grip of war, must build the fair House of God, at least we have the Temple of Truth in secret vision, and we are gathering the stone and lime, the timber and the metal, against the day of its building, when it comes.

This book has been written in the spirit of that vision. Throughout the History, restraint has been laid upon the author's individual opinions, in a sincere attempt to review with honesty and fairness and charity the great dogmatic systems of the Christian world, to exhibit their contents without prejudice or distortion, and to glance with sympathy across the Christian boundary at kindred documents beyond, so far as they are known. I am persuaded that an unbiassed retrospect over the past efforts of the Christian Churches to formulate the essence of their faith, though it must inevitably move one to a certain sadness that, in their quest after the truth as it is in Jesus Christ their common Lord, they found it necessary to part so frequently and at times so widely from one another, may with equal justice move one to a feeling of pride and satisfaction that the quest has been so unremitting, so earnest, so conscientious, so fruitful of discovery, so rich in educative experience. There are signs that Christian missionary enterprise is stimulating other faiths to formulate their characteristic tenets with a precision and self-scrutiny hitherto unknown, and it is probable that the future will receive from them substantial additions to the library of dogma. But the apologist may with perfect confidence point to the Confessions of Christendom as unique, and as evidence of the

unexampled power of Christianity to appeal to the intellectual instincts of mankind.

My debt to earlier writers, in particular to Philip Schaff, is of the heaviest. A sense of my obligation accompanies each reference to their books. I owe a special acknowledgment to the editor of the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, at whose commission I undertook to prepare the Article on "Confessions," great part of which has been incorporated in this work with his consent; to the Reviewers of various denominations whose notices of the Article encouraged me to think that in my short survey of the Churches of Christendom I had been neither inaccurate nor unfair; and finally, to my Alma Mater, which honoured me with its Doctorate in Letters in recognition of the work which forms the substance of this book.

WILLIAM A. CURTIS.

The Divinity Manse, King's College,
Old Aberdeen, *October* 1911.

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When ye rise, when ye betake yourselves to sleep, repeat your Creed, repeat it to God. . . . Say not, I said it yesterday, I have said it to-day, I say it every day, I remember it right well. Rehearse thy faith. Look into thyself. Let thy Creed be as a mirror to thee. See thou thyself therein, whether thou believest all thou professest to believe, and rejoice in thy faith each day.

Augustine, Serm. 58 (*Opera*, ed. Bened. vi.).

A HISTORY OF CREEDS AND CONFESSIONS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION—CREEDS AND CONFESSIONS IN GENERAL.

IF religion be the natural response of the human soul to the Power by whose fiat and by whose providence it exists, no element in religious experience is so comprehensive and so momentous as faith. Observation and knowledge of the facts of life, wonder, curiosity, fear, and doubt in presence of them, underlie religion; but, unless they issue in distinctive faith, religion is still unconstituted. Faith does not shut its eyes to things seen, but, while seeing them, looks beyond to realities discerned behind them. It is the organ which grasps religious truth. Like hope, its serene, and love, its passionate, sister, faith in its full meaning is vital to the highest experience of religion, and as such is bound to find expression when religion becomes self-conscious and articulate. It remembers the past, and leans upon it; it fills the present with life and power; it faces the future with eager expectancy; it is the bond between all the phases of religious life, the link, indeed, which unites that life with the Unseen God. In the language of religious self-utterance, therefore, *credo*, "I believe," and *confiteor*, "I confess *or* acknowledge," must always have a foremost place. Belief and confession are presupposed in all the other moods of worship—in praise, in thanksgiving, in self-abasement, in

supplication, in hope, and in love ; they are the persistent undertones in the natural liturgy of the universal religious consciousness. They imply that the period of ignorance or doubt is past ; that conviction is attained ; that the spiritual life is come to itself ; that the seeker has at last found, and that the soul is at rest.

What song is to the victory it celebrates, confession is to the religious spirit whose wanderings through doubt and struggles with error are believed to be at an end. Religion, like Science, not only seeks and finds the hid treasures of truth, but is fain to cry "Eureka." Like Philosophy, it not only broods in silence over the deep mysteries of life, but, as light breaks upon them, it is impelled to publish its vision of their meaning, and share with all the world the "dogmas" in which each school or sect has for the time found peace. Like Art, it is not content with the inward realization of the great ideas which it has entered into its secret heart to conceive : it must give them outward form and substance, that all eyes may see them and know what it has known. Like Morals, it awakes to the existence of mysterious ideals, and, having assured itself of their reality and their claims, it cannot rest till it has not only set itself to embody them in its daily conduct, but engraved them upon tables of stone, and solemnly proclaimed them in the market-place and at the cross-roads and at the city gate as laws dictated from heaven for the common conscience of mankind. Religion only betrays an instinct which is universal throughout all the higher interests and activities of humanity when it thus gives utterance, in language as august as lips can frame, to its mature convictions, to the answers which from time to time it deems final to the great questions of man's pondering, to the revelations which have been vouchsafed to it from the cloud-girt mountain-top of intellectual aspiration. What Society claims for its Code of Duty and Honour, Philosophy for its Truths, Art for its Canons and Standard Works, and Science for its Laws and Grand Hypotheses, Religion, on its part, claims for its

Dogmas, its own Rules of Faith. It may be the oldest, it is not the only, Hierophant of the spiritual culture of the race, that is persuaded of the divine origin and ultimate character of its inspiration. If it has sometimes confused the ideas of belief and knowledge, and mistaken assurance for certainty and opinion for truth, placing its fundamental propositions beyond the reach of criticism's sacrilegious eyes and fingers, it has but fallen into a misconception which its younger counterparts have also failed to escape. Whatever may be thought of the methods by which it has endeavoured to protect and to enforce its standards, or of the illusions by which it has been beset in contemplation of the work of its earth-soiled hands, its impulse to formulate in sentences the truth as it conceives it, and to hail those sentences with acclamation and invest them with reverence and awe, is as honourable as it is natural : it cannot consistently be impeached by any but a mind abandoned to spiritual anarchism, and contemptuous of all authority and tradition. Undogmatic religion is, strictly speaking, a contradiction in terms. Dogma is not indeed like Faith, the living spirit of religion : but it is at least the skeleton of all embodied religion, the framework, however transitory, of the physical organisation of its life. Faith that is real will out. Faith that is uttered in dogma, like life that is born, may perish ; but it is the medium of a manifested spiritual life, mortal like flesh and blood, but like them with a sanctity of its own. Every religion, however crude or primitive, has enshrined a Creed, and in some fashion has given voice to a Confession of the faith by which it lived. The intellect and the life of man have their own sacrifice and tribute to offer on the altar of faith.

Amid all diversities of name, literary form, occasion, purpose, and authority, a " Confession " is a public avowal and formal statement, more or less detailed, of the doctrinal contents of religious belief, framed by an individual or by a group of individuals. If may be addressed, orally or in writing, to a few persons in sympathy or out of sympathy

with it, or to a congregation, or to a church, or to the world. It may be a brief spontaneous ejaculation of faith, or a summary of deliberate conviction, or a veritable treatise on doctrine. If short, comprehensive, and dignified enough for frequent use in public worship, especially if rhythmically expressed in language of the first person,—"I believe" or "We believe,"—it becomes a *Creed*. If longer and more minute and systematic, it is technically a *Confession*. Broken up and analytically simplified into a series of didactic questions and answers to assist the memory and intelligence of the young and the unlearned, it is a *Catechism*. Viewed as a proclamation, in an apologetic or other interest, of distinctive doctrine, it is a *Manifesto*, a *Declaration*, a *Profession*, and in America a "*Platform*." As a passport of admission to membership in a communion it is a *Symbol*. As a bond of union it is a *Consensus*, a *Covenant*, a *Form*, or *Formula*. As a test of doctrine it is a *Standard*, or *Rule of Faith*. As a disavowal and condemnation of errors it is a "*Syllabus*." In respect of its contents, it may be entitled *Decrees*, *Canons*, *Articles*, *Theses*, *Propositions*, or, as in ancient Scotland sometimes, "*Places*." When modified and re-issued, it may appear simply as a "*Revision*." The form of words in which the individual subscribes or professes a Confession is the Formula of Subscription, or simply the "Formula."

The earliest confessions of faith, possibly the best, were avowals of faith in a Person, personal in subject and object alike, not narrowly intellectual, "I believe that God is," so much as spiritual, "I rest my faith on God"; and the object of this living personal attachment, too full for words, was either God or a teacher who revealed Him. Just as the ineffable Name of Jehovah and the name of Moses might be regarded as the divine and human *foci* of Hebrew faith, and the names of Allah and Mohammed as those of Islam, so it was natural that early Christendom should be marked off from the Jewish and other peoples by summary reference to God the Father

and Jesus the Christ, a formula of faith which Professor Harnack regards [1] as the starting-point of the Trinitarian Creed, and as evolved in opposition to Mosaism.[2] Faith in Jesus personally would naturally precede faith in His Messiahship. But it is obvious that even in personal faith the intelligence has always its discriminating part to play. "I believe on Jesus the Christ" is a formula combining both forms—"I believe that He is the promised Christ," and "I trust Him." Thus, in the so-called Apostles' Creed—the first elaborate Confession in the Church, and the basis of all others—the true nucleus consists of the threefold affirmation, "I believe on (πιστεύω εἰς, *credo in*) God the Father . . . on Jesus Christ . . . on the Holy Spirit," much more being intended than that each Person exists, a relationship of personal faith being, in fact, professed. But, since in each of these simple affirmations of trust a certain knowledge and experience and a certain intellectual judgment are presupposed, room has been found in the Creed as a whole for clauses descriptive of each Divine "Person" and His sphere, and involving historical or doctrinal articles of mental faith. From a very early time, confession in terms of the Creed was taken to imply, if not to denote, acceptance of each of these details of history and doctrine—acceptance of the letter as well as of the spirit. Under the influence of the dogmatic spirit, faith was soon understood to be professing not so much its fervent devotion to three Persons recognised as Divine, as its belief in a series of affirmations concerning them, particularly concerning Jesus, whose person, life, and work had been matter for protracted

[1] *The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries*, Eng. tr., London, 1910; Appendix II. on "The Fundamental Confession of the Church," p. 259 ff.

[2] Harnack interestingly points to the sharp contrast in the New Testament between Christ and Moses, *e.g.* John i. 17: "The law was given by Moses; grace and truth came by Jesus Christ"; John xvii. 3: "And this is life eternal, that they should know thee, the only true God, and him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ"; Rom. x. 4: "Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness to every one that believeth. For Moses writeth," etc.; 1 Cor. viii. 6: "To us there is one God, the Father, and one Lord, Jesus Christ."

controversy. In the Protestant and Roman Catholic Confessions of the Reformation Period and later times, the personal object is finally lost in the doctrinal purpose; in them the Creed has become a body of distinctive doctrine, nothing else,—an attempt to formulate the truth about God and His Christ, not a simple avowal of faith in the God of truth and in His Son, the Truth Incarnate.

The general history of Creeds and Confessions discloses great variety in their origin and purpose.[1]

i. At their simplest, they were brief, spontaneous utterances of new-found conviction, addressed by individuals directly to their personal object in gratitude, homage, or adoration. They might be utterly unsolicited, like the devotion of the Hebrew Psalmist: "O Lord my God, in thee do I put my trust" (Ps. vii. 1), "O God, thou art my God" (Ps. lxiii. 1), and the demoniac's tribute to Jesus, "Thou art the Son of God" (Mark iii. 11); or deliberately invited, like the response of Simon Peter, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Matt. xvi. 16).

ii. Similarly, they were naturally evolved by the consciousness of the Christian community. Without any definite legislation or injunction, a certain type of profession came to be made at the admission of converts to membership in the Church, *e.g.* the Baptismal formula in the name of Christ or in the Triune Name, and the earliest forms of the Apostles' Creed. The *Te Deum*, a lyric creed, may similarly have been formed from scriptural materials and suggestions gradually accumulated by the devotional and choral instincts of the worshipping Church.

[1] An unusually exhaustive and careful discussion of this topic will be found in a deservedly well-known and valued old Scottish work, *A Collection of Confessions of Faith, Catechisms, Directories, Books of Discipline, etc., of Public Authority in the Church of Scotland*, by William Dunlop, 2 vols., Edin. 1719–22. The Preface, which extends to 140 pp., is a vigorous and valuable essay on "the several ends and uses of Confessions of Faith, the just foundations of their authority as a public standard of orthodoxy, and a vindication of the equity, usefulness, and excellency of such composures." It groups the main uses under three heads: i. as declarations to all the world; ii. as tests for ministers of the gospel; and iii. as concerning the whole membership of a particular denomination.

iii. In time, and by natural consent, such individual and common Confessions as appealed to the general sense of Christian communities were adopted for liturgical repetition. The spontaneous lyric or acknowledgment became the familiar psalm or hymn or creed, prescribed for public use, whose very familiarity and constant repetition tended to dull its devotional significance.

iv. Beyond question, the catechizing of professed converts before baptism was the chief and original source of formal confessions. The answers expected from the professing believer gradually took shape in a series of propositions which were recognised as a sufficient mark of Christianity and claim for admission to the Church. The Apostles' Creed in all its forms, shorter and longer, had this origin and aim. It was literally a *symbolum*, a "password," for use on the threshold of the Church, admitting to the sacred mysteries within, a "token" of eligibility for membership and communion. A common creed commended strangers to one another, was as much a mutual credential as the ring or potsherd which friends or lovers broke in two and kept as confidential guarantees of the authenticity of their communications.

v. From the beginning it was part of the purpose served by a confession to bear a public testimony to the object of one's faith — public not simply as made openly before the Church, but as before the outside world. Every great religious movement has realised the value of open confession, not only as impressing the audience and serving a missionary end, but principally for its psychological effect, as an act of self-committal, intensifying the decision and deepening the loyalty of the convert.

vi. Creeds and Confessions have frequently been drawn up simply as a vindication of the true character of the religious belief cherished by a body of Christians. They were primarily authentic expositions of distinctive doctrine, intended to remove misconceptions and to repudiate misrepresentations. Many, perhaps most, of the great Confessions of the Reformation were wholly of this apologetic

character, *e.g.* the memorable Lutheran Confession presented to the Emperor at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, and Zwingli's "Confession to Charles v." on the same occasion. Subscription in such cases meant the acceptance and support of the doctrine, with no reference to, or promise of, literal adherence in the future.

vii. Very often they were drawn up to settle controversy, either as a compromise between the opposite issues, or as an authoritative affirmation of the one and condemnation of the other. They served thus to mark off true from false belief, at least according as majorities conceived of these, and gave rise to the accepted distinction between an orthodoxy and a heresy. In this category stand the Nicene Creed, the Canons of Dort, and the Formula Concordiæ, as conspicuous representatives.

viii. On other occasions they were drawn up as deliberate bonds of contemplated union or reunion, apart from any pressure of controversy, *e.g.* the Westminster Confession. Such confession-making activity as exists in our own time is, happily, largely of this irenic character.

ix. A very frequent, though secondary, function of Confessions has been to serve as standards of orthodoxy either for the general body of members of a church, or more especially for office-bearers. Whether formally subscribed upon admission or tacitly accepted, they have been a usual basis of "discipline." To be convicted, on trial, of infidelity to them has been sufficient warrant for excommunication. As a rule, the Catholic Creeds, though they have been thus used, have not been deemed minute enough for disciplinary purposes, and have been supplemented in ecclesiastical usage by the longer Confessions. In the Protestant Churches it has generally been laid down in explicit terms that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the supreme standard of faith and practice, the true Rule of Faith, and that the accepted Confession is adopted only as a secondary or subordinate standard.

x. Lastly, it may be noted that Confessions have been published in a less authoritative and more speculative way

as expositions of particular conceptions of the System of Christian Truth, drawn up with a view to the definition and formulation of men's views, apart either from controversy or ecclesiastical use. Such documents have been individual and tentative, and scarcely enter into the present survey. They will be mentioned only when they are of special interest as having played an important part in the development of symbolic literature, or as illustrating some characteristic movement of doctrinal thought, or as having won for themselves a quasi-authoritative and normative position as expositions of doctrine, though not composed or published as such.

It is the object of this book to present the reader with a brief survey of the history of these compositions first in religion beyond the pale of Judaism and Christianity, then in Hebrew religion, both in the Old Testament and throughout later Jewish history, then in the Scriptures of the New Testament, then in the Ancient Christian Church, which formulated the Catholic or Œcumenical Creeds. Thereafter, it will be convenient to describe the Confessions of modern Christendom in succession, as formulated by the Greek and Oriental Churches, by the Roman and Old Catholic Churches, by the Reformed Churches—Waldensian, Bohemian, Moravian, Lutheran, Anglican, Zwinglian, Calvinist, Baptist, Independent, Arminian, and Methodist, by the Salvation Army, the Society of Friends, the Socinian and Unitarian and other Churches. Every document of historical importance will be noticed,—there are over one hundred and fifty in all,—but in many cases very few words must suffice. Happily, there is small room for doubt or controversy as to their authenticity, and questions of date, authorship, and editions will be handled very lightly, in the interests of lucidity and brevity. At various points the relevant literature will be indicated. The book will conclude with a short discussion of the significance and rationale of Creeds and Confessions, of the problems connected with their modification and their subscription, and of the outlook in regard to them, followed by a series of

historical and theological tables which it is hoped will assist the reader to realise the main facts with increased clearness and precision.

NOTE ON GENERAL LITERATURE OF CREEDS AND CONFESSIONS.—Indispensable general works are PHILIP SCHAFF, 3 vols. (entitled, *A History of the Creeds of Christendom*; *The Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches*; *The Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches*), New York, 1876, London, 1877, (5th ed., New York, 1887, with few changes), by far the most valuable work on the whole subject; G. B. WINER, *Comparative View of the Doctrines and Confessions of the Various Communities of Christendom* (Eng. tr., W. B. Pope), Edinburgh, 1873; P. HALL, *Harmony of Prot. Confessions*, London, 1842; S. G. GREEN, *The Christian Creed and the Creeds of Christendom*, London, 1898 (an admirable general survey, with careful discussion of related topics); E. F. KARL MÜLLER, *Symbolik*, Leipzig, 1896; G. F. OEHLER, *Lehrbuch der Symbolik*, 2nd ed. by Hermann, 1891; H. SCHMIDT, *Handbuch der Symbolik*, Berlin, 1890; and the partial works on "Symbolik," by LOOFS (Leipzig, 1902) and KATTENBUSCH (Freiburg, 1892), with their admirable series of articles in HAUCK-HERZOG, *Prot. Realencycl.*, 3rd ed., including a gen. art. "Symbole, Symbolik," in that work. The Croall Lectures of 1902, on "Creeds and Churches," by A. STEWART, are in course of preparation for publication. For a theological discussion of the chief dogmatic utterances and tendencies down to the Reformation era, and in the Roman Church to the 19th cent., HARNACK, *Hist. of Dogma* (Eng. tr. from 3rd ed., 7 vols., 1894–99), is of supreme value, and the *Histories of Dogma* by SEEBERG and LOOFS deserve special mention.

Many of the translations throughout this book are taken from, or based on, the rendering given by Schaff—in all cases revised.

CHAPTER II.

CREEDS AND CONFESSIONS OUTSIDE HEBREW AND CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

THOUGH intellectual faith in some degree is presupposed in every form and stage of religion, and though the materials for Confessions are never wanting in the great systems of religion, it is a striking fact that almost alone in Christendom have Creeds and Confessions in the strict sense been drawn up as authoritative expositions of the contents of faith. Every religion and every sect within it, every school of philosophy as well as each individual thinker, has a distinctive group of tenets or articles of faith, which tend to find, sooner or later, a more or less authoritative expression, and so become stereotyped as a rule or norm of belief, and a test or watchword of adherence. These may without difficulty be pointed out in connection with each of the great systems of human religion, for each has had not only its founder and its church, but its scriptures, its theologies, and its sectarian divisions. But we look almost in vain for any documents in ethnic religion, ancient or modern, which correspond to the Christian Creeds and Confessions. "The antique religions," writes Robertson Smith, "had for the most part no creed; they consisted entirely of institutions and practices. . . . Mythology takes the place of dogma. . . . Belief in a certain series of myths was neither obligatory as a part of true religion, nor was it supposed that, by believing, a man acquired religious merit and conciliated the favour of the gods. What was obligatory or meritorious was the exact performance of certain sacred acts prescribed by religious tradition. . . . Religious,

like political duty, of which indeed it was a part, was entirely comprehended in the observance of certain fixed rules of outward conduct." [1] It is in the prophetic or missionary systems that creed-forms emerge. Religions which have a gospel of salvation to preach, a message of truth to declare to an ignorant and deluded world, are naturally the faiths which define themselves in antagonism to others with verbal precision. The profounder the experience, the fuller the testimony may be. The preacher aims at conversion, the missionary strives to gain proselytes. Each holds before him a conception of faith, a body of conviction, whose acceptance and profession by the convert marks the completion of his change and his entrance into the household of true believers. Either by a ceremonial act, by circumcision or baptism, or by a ritual act, by uttering a form of words or describing a distinctive experience or avowing a distinctive doctrine, the aggressive religions of the world have encouraged men to secure admission. Both forms are *symbols*, not only as significant marks of the change experienced and acknowledged, but also technically as "tokens," "pass-words," "countersigns," by which the guards of a military camp, or the guardians of religious mysteries, distinguished friends from foes, and gave admittance without further question.

It is easy to quote passages from the nobler hymns and prayers of ancient Egypt and Babylonia, to select religious utterances from Vedic India and classical Greece and Rome, in which faith is professed and the varied elements of belief are detailed. Even primitive animism and national religion possessed in some measure a vocabulary of faith for ritual use. But for unmistakable formulæ the common declarations of all believers or of all converts alike, we must turn to ancient Israel, Persia, and Buddhist India, to Christianity, and to Islam, the latest-born of the world's family of great religions. It is characteristic of these ancient systems, which have defied successfully the ravages of time and still maintain themselves in spite of the assaults

[1] *Religion of the Semites*, 1894, pp. 18, 19, 23.

of the innumerable modern influences hostile to religious faith, that from the first they made provision for systematic teaching and preaching, rigorously training believers in their saving doctrine, and proclaiming to unbelievers the essentials of their gospel, that they valued literary instruments as well as ritual and sacraments, and that they set out upon their marvellous careers with the highest possible conception of their mission and destiny, aiming consistently at nothing short of the winning of the world. Their militant character involved the development of enrolment-vows, of battle-cries, of recognition-badges, of pass-words, of triumph-songs or rally-calls, appropriate to the emergencies of active warfare. They framed their Creeds and made them serve these manifold uses.

ZOROASTRIANISM.

Zoroastrianism preserves among its sacred writings an ancient Confession which has a special interest.[1] With characteristic Oriental repetitions it runs as follows:

"I disown demon-worship. I confess me a worshipper of Mazda, a Zoroastrian, a foe to the gods, a prophet of the Lord, a praiser of the immortal holy ones, a worshipper of the immortal holy ones. To the wise Lord I promise all that is good, all that is best to Him the Good, the Kind, the Righteous, the Glorious, the Illustrious, from whom the Cow, from whom the Law, from whom the lights of heaven are, with whose heavenly lights happiness is bound up. The holy, the good Armaiti do I choose to be mine. I forswear theft and robbery of cattle, plundering and ravaging the villages of Mazda-worshippers. . . .

"I renounce all fellowship with wicked, evil, lawless, malicious demons, most deceitful, most corrupt, most base of beings, with demons, with the followers of demons, with sorcerers, with followers of sorcerers, with every evil one, whosoever he may be, in thought, in word, and in appearance, as I hereby renounce all fellowship with mischief-working unbelievers.

"Even as the wise Lord taught Zoroaster . . . so renounce I

[1] Yasna 12. See Bertholet, *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*, Tübingen, 1908, pp. 335, 336, and 347, where it is given in full in German translation.

also, as a Mazda-worshipper and as a Zoroastrian, all fellowship with the demons. . . .

"What faith the Waters owned, the Plants, the useful Cow, the Wise Lord who hath made the Cow and the right-believing Man, what faith Zoroaster owned . . . in that faith and in that promise am I a Mazda-worshipper. I confess me a worshipper of Mazda, a Zoroastrian, with praise and confession. I vow a thought well thought, I vow a word well spoken, I vow a work well done. I pledge the religion of the Mazda-worshipper which lays strife low, and lays the weapons down . . . the religion of all that are, and are to be, the highest, best, and fairest, the religion that believes in Ahura, the religion of Zoroaster. To the Wise Lord I vow all good. This is the solemn vow of the religion of the Mazda-worshipper."

At the present day every Parsi makes this profession of faith :

"I confess myself a worshipper of Mazda, a follower of Zoroaster, an opponent of false gods, and subject to the laws of the Lord."

BUDDHISM.

Buddhism has cherished from the beginning a strong didactic instinct which impelled it to formulate its ethical and religious truths in picturesque groups which lend themselves to ready memorizing both by monk and by lay brother and even by young children, and constitute an obvious catechetic basis of instruction. It proclaims a set of *Four Noble Truths*, a cluster of *Three Gems*, the *Twelve Sentences*, the *Eightfold Path*, the *Five* or *Eight* or *Ten Vows*, over-against the *Ten Fetters*,—formulæ which are models of vivid teaching, and move our admiration. It has, indeed, an explicit Creed or Profession in universal use at the admission of Catechumens to the Order or to lay association, the *Refuge Formula* or "The Three Guiding Stars."

"I take my refuge in the Buddha (the Enlightened One) ; I take my refuge in the Dhamma (Law or Doctrine) ; I take my refuge in the Sangha (Brotherhood of the Elect, or Order)."

This confession of the Buddhist Trinity—Saviour, Gospel-Law, and Church—appears in slightly varied forms throughout the liturgies and sacred books, *e.g.* in the chant,

"In close heart-communion we adore the Eternal Buddha, the eternal Law, the eternal Order,"

which is incorporated in a pious Chinese Emperor's service-book[1] of the fifteenth century A.D. It is noteworthy that King Asoka, the Buddhist Constantine, in the edicts which he carved in stone in the third century B.C., combined a zeal for confession, "Confess and believe in God, who is the worthy object of obedience," with a passion for tolerance, "A man should honour his personal creed, but not blame his neighbour's. . . . He who acteth otherwise impaireth his own creed and injureth that of others. The man, whoever he be, who possesseth his own creed, and blameth that of others, saith, 'Let us set up our own religion in full light'—that man, I say, doeth much injury to his own creed. Wherefore religious harmony alone is good . . . I pray with every manner of prayer for those who differ from me in creed, that they, following my right example, may with me attain unto eternal salvation."[2]

MOHAMMEDANISM.

Mohammedanism, later in origin than Christianity, and like Christianity sprung from Hebrew Religion, has derived from both, and shares with both, the character of a creed-professing faith. The Mohammedan Creed, or *Kalimah*, consists of the familiar words:

"I testify that there is no deity but God, and Mohammed is the Apostle of God."

It is not claimed that the profession "there is no deity but God" is peculiar or native to Islam. Moham-

[1] Beale's *Catena*, p. 398.

[2] Rock Edict xii.; Delhi Pillar Edict vi. Cf. Loring Brace, *The Unknown God*, p. 287.

medans frankly hold that every prophet since the days of Adam has proclaimed it as his message, and that only the final clause, the tribute to Mohammed, is distinctively their own, replacing the formulæ of earlier times, which on their view would run thus: "There is no deity but God, and Moses is the Communer with God," or "There is no deity but God, and Jesus is the Spirit of God." One tradition relates that the Prophet said, "The keys to Paradise consist in bearing witness that there is no deity but God." The convert to Islam is admitted upon profession of the Creed. The devotions of the believer gather round it. Its recital is the first of the five great pillars of Mohammedan religion. Six rules are laid down regarding its use:—1. it shall be repeated aloud at least once in a lifetime; 2. its meaning shall be fully understood; 3. it shall be believed in "by the heart"; 4. it shall be professed until death; 5. it shall be recited correctly; 6. it shall always be professed and declared without hesitation.[1]

MODERN CONFESSIONS IN INDIA.

It is thus evident that outside Judaism and Christianity, Creeds have not been wholly absent from the great religious systems that have come down from antiquity. Perhaps a better knowledge of their sects would enable us to supplement their classic creeds by minor confessional differences. But for the most part Oriental religion rests on regulated duties more than on systematized beliefs. Ritual and moral works bring their reward with such unswerving and rigorous precision, that an exaltation of doctrine to be professed into the position of a criterion of a man's religion and a determinant of his hereafter is practically impossible. Codes of conduct abound, in which each step in life finds its direction. Hymns and prayers attest the life of faith and hope. Doctrines are articulated, problems involved in them are faced and argued with

[1] Cf. Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, p. 63, art. "Creed."

unlimited speculative enterprise and genius. But the theological spirit and method which Christianity received from the Hebrew and Hellenic schools of learning have not urged them to minute confessional introspection and self-utterance. In recent times, however, contact with the missionary outposts of Christianity has not seldom induced their apologists to draw up, teach, and circulate summaries, manuals, or catechisms of their own cherished doctrine, sometimes in its native form, frequently with a strong alloy of Christian theism and ethics.

At the first World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago, a Chinese representative of Taoism spoke for many beyond the pale of his own religion when he said: "Oh! that one would arise to restore our religion, save it from errors, help its weakness, expose untruth with truth, explain the mysteries, understand it profoundly and set it forth clearly, as Roman Catholics and Protestants assemble the masses to hear and to explain the doctrines, that their followers may know the ends for which their churches were established! If the coarse influences with which custom has obscured them were removed, the doctrines of Lao-tsze, Chang-tsze, Yin-hi, and Lie-tsze might shine forth brightly. Would not this be fortunate for our religion?"

We may anticipate as one consequence of the rivalry of the universal religions a great development of such activity throughout the non-Christian world, with, it may be, the ultimate evolution of more detailed Eastern Creeds and Confessions. As an earnest of this result, and in illustration of the process, in India, the creeds of the Arya Samaj and of the Brahmo Samaj, the Catechism and Doctrinal Manuals of the Central Hindu College of Benares, the Parsi Catechism of Bombay, and the Buddhist Catechisms of Olcott and Subhadra Bhikshu, may be instanced. They are significant examples, and a short account of them may fitly close this chapter.

[1] *World's Parliament of Religions.* Report, vol. ii. p. 1358. Chicago.

THE ARYA SAMAJ.

The Arya Samaj, founded in Bombay by Swami Dayanand in 1875, a Society for the reform of Hinduism, professes Ten Articles.[1]

1. "God is the primary cause of all true knowledge, and of everything known by its name."

2. "God is All-Truth, All-Knowledge, All-Beatitude, Incorporeal, Almighty, Just, Merciful, Unbegotten, Infinite, Unchangeable, Without a beginning, Incomparable, the Support and the Lord of All, All-pervading, Omniscient, Imperishable, Immortal, Exempt from fear, Eternal, Holy, and the Cause of the Universe. To Him alone worship is due."

3. "The Vedas are the books of true knowledge, and it is the paramount duty of every Arya to read or hear them read, to teach and preach them to others."

4. "One should always be ready to accept truth, and renounce untruth."

5. "All actions ought to be done conformably to virtue, that is, after a thorough consideration of right and wrong."

6. "The primary object of the Samaj is to do good to the world by improving the physical, spiritual, and social condition of mankind."

7. "All ought to be treated with love, justice, and due regard to their merits."

8. "Ignorance ought to be dispelled and knowledge diffused."

9. "No one ought to be contented with his own good alone, but every one ought to regard his prosperity as included in that of others."

10. "In matters which affect the general social well-being of the whole Society, one ought to discard all differences, and not allow one's individuality to interfere, but in strictly personal matters every one may act with freedom."

THE BRAHMO SAMAJ.

The Brahmo Samaj, founded as a Vedic Sect of liberal and eclectic views in 1828 by Ram Mohan Ray, a cultured Hindu, familiar by observation, study, and travel with Christianity, Islam, and Tibetan Buddhism, and developed

[1] *Handbook of the Arya Samaj*, 1906.

after 1850 in warmer sympathy with Christian Theism by Debendra Nath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen, professed in the three successive stages of its growth Six, Nine, and Twelve Articles. Completed in 1884, they run as follows, the first six forming the Confession of the Adi Samaj, the first nine that of the Sadharan Samaj, and the twelve that of the final or New Dispensation Samaj : [1]

1. " God is a personal being with sublime moral attributes."
2. " God has never become incarnate."
3. " God hears and answers prayer."
4. " God is to be worshipped only in spiritual ways. Hindu asceticism, temples, and fixed forms of worship are unnecessary. Men of all castes and races may worship God acceptably."
5. " Repentance and Cessation from sin is the only way to forgiveness and salvation."
6. " Nature and Intuition are the sources of knowledge of God. No book is authoritative."
7. " God is the Father of men, and all men are brothers."
8. " The soul is immortal, and its progress eternal."
9. " God rewards virtue and punishes sin. His punishments are remedial and not eternal."
10. " God is a Trinity in Unity—Father, Son, and Spirit ; God is Mother as well as Father."
11. " Brahmoism is not a new religion, but the essence of all religions, the one universal faith ; the Brahmo Samaj is God's latest dispensation, and the missionaries are the God-appointed apostles of the new Gospel."
12. " Knowledge of God comes through inspired men, as well as through Nature and Intuition. He reveals His will on occasion to His Servants by command, *Adesh*."

THE HINDU CATECHISM.

A Catechism for Boys and Girls in Hindu Religion and Morals,[2] published by the Board of Trustees, Central

[1] Art. " Brahmo-Samaj," in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, by J. N. Farquhar; Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 3rd ed., London, 1887; T. Lillingston, *The Brahmo-Samaj and Arya Samaj*, London, 1901; T. E. Slater, *Keshab Chandra Sen and the Brahmo-Samaj*, Madras, 1884.

[2] In its 101st thousand in 1907.

Hindu College, Benares, is the first and briefest of the Sanâtana Dharma series of three religious manuals, the two others being an Elementary and an Advanced Text-book. It is in three parts, the first in thirty-four questions on "Basic Principles," the second in twelve on "General Religious Customs and Rites," the third in twelve on "Ethics." Part I. opens thus :

Qn. 1. What is the meaning of the words Sanâtana Dharma ?

Ans. Sanâtana means *eternal*, Dharma means *religion*.

Q. 2. To what religion is this name given ?

A. It is given to the Hindu religion, which is the oldest of the religions now in the world.

Q. 3. Is this the only reason for giving to it the name *eternal* ?

A. No. It is also given because the great truths taught in it are eternal.

Q. 4. What is its foundation ?

A. The Four Vedas, namely, the *Rigveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Sâmaveda*, the *Atharvaveda*. These were spoken by the Rishis, holy men taught by Brahmâ, and teach us how to worship and what to believe.

Q. 5. Are there any other books given by Rishis ?

A. Yes. There are the *Laws of Manu*, the great *Purânas*, and the two histories, the Râmâyana and the Mahâbhârata. These are the chief books from which we learn the Sanâtana Dharma.

Q. 10. What are we taught to believe about the Supreme Being, God ?

A. That there is one Boundless Eternal Being, "One only without a second." He is spoken of as Brahman in the Sacred books, or as Parabrahman, or as The All, because containing all that ever has been, is, or will be.

Q. 11. Can we know that eternal Being ?

A. Only when revealed as Ishvara, the Lord, the loving Father of all the worlds, and of all the creatures who live in them.

Q. 12. How does Ishvara help us to know Him ?

A. By taking different forms, each of which shows us a little portion of Him, so that we may learn to know Him little by little. The more we know Him, the more we learn to love Him. Some forms show us little, others show us much of Him.

Q. 13. Tell me some of these forms.

A. The chief are the three great Devas, called the Trimurti, whose names are : Brahmâ, Vishnu, and Shiva, called also Mahadeva. As Brahmâ, Ishvara creates the worlds ; as Vishnu, He sustains and preserves them ; as Shiva, He dissolves them again when they are worn out and useless.

Q. 14. What other forms does He take ?

A. The forms of Devas and Devis, such as Indra who sends the rain ; Vâyu, whose breath makes the winds ; Agni, who gives us fire ; Varuna, who takes care of water ; Kubera, the guardian of the earth which supplies us with food. Then there are Sarasvatî and Ganesha, who will help us to learn, if we ask them, and many many others, all of whom are always working to do us good, making us happy when we do what is right, and unhappy when we do what is wrong.

Q. 15. Does He take any other forms ?

A. Yes ; He lives in us, in our hearts always, and is our own inner Self ; He shines out in us when we are loving and pure, and is clouded over when we are cruel or unclean. And He lives also in all animals, and even in plants and stones. He is everywhere, helping every one and everything, and we cannot do harm to any without hurting Him.

Q. 16. We read in the Sacred books of some other forms He has taken, called Avatâras. What are these ?

A. An Avatâra means some one who has descended or come down. The word is used as a name for certain special forms of Vishnu, the Maintainer and Preserver of the worlds. He comes as an Avatâra when some great work has to be done to help the worlds.

Q. 18 names the Ten Avatâras, including (7) " Rama, the ideal King and model son and brother ; (8) Krishna, the beloved object of bhakti for millions of Hindus ; (9) Buddha, the prince who resigned his royal grandeur to teach religion ; (10) Kalki, who is yet to come in the future."

Qns. 19–34 discuss man, his constitution, his hereafter, his rebirths according to his " desires, thoughts, and actions in his previous lives," the laws of Karma and of Sacrifice.

Q. 42 explains the duty of purity in food, and habits ; Q. 43 the five daily sacrifices of " study, prayer, offering to ancestors, feeding stray animals, feeding or clothing or helping in some way poor men ; Q. 44 defines worship as " Love of Ishvara ; being devoted to Him ; thinking about Him ; praying and singing praises to Him ; and

trying to serve Him in all the forms He takes, by kindness to every one and everything :

Q. 45 the four stages of a human life as student, householder, ascetic, and Sannyâsî :

Q. 46 the four castes as "Four stages in the long evolution of the Jiva (soul)—the Shudra, the manual worker ; the Vaishya, the merchant; the Kshattriya, the warrior; the Brâhmana, the teacher":

Q. 49 the three simple rules of right :—"(1) that we should never do to another person what we should not like done to ourselves ; (2) that we should always do to another person what we should like done to ourselves ; (3) that we should never injure another because the other has injured us."

In the two text-books the same division into three main parts is retained. In all three works the same principle, it is claimed, is followed :—"i. the Religious and Ethical instruction must be such as all Hindus can accept ; ii. it must include the special teachings which mark out Hinduism from other religions ; iii. it must not include the distinctive views of any special school or sect." Modern accretions are removed, and the ancient teachings only retained. The aim of publication is expressed in the words : "May this book also aid in the great work of building up the national religion, and so pave the way to national happiness and prosperity" ;[1] and "That this book may prove useful in laying a firm foundation of right thinking in the minds of Hindu youths, and may help in shaping them into pious, moral, loyal, and useful citizens of their Motherland and of the Empire, is the prayer with which its compilers send it forth to the world."[2]

THE BUDDHIST CATECHISM.

Of the two Buddhist Catechisms, that of H. S. Olcott was the earlier. Its thirty-third enlarged edition was published in Madras in 1897, and runs to 120 pages. It was prepared originally for Singalese children, but was widely read by Western students of Buddhism. That

[1] *Advanced Text-book*, p. 3.

[2] *Elementary Text-book*, p. 7.

of Subhadra Bhikshu appeared in London in 1890. It is a skilful, lucid "outline of the doctrine of the Buddha Gotama . . . compiled from the sacred writings of the Southern Buddhists for the use of Europeans, with explanatory notes." The preface frankly states the author's aim—"to put forth a Catechism suited to the intelligent appreciation of educated populations, and containing in a compendious form the essential doctrine of the Teacher stripped of the trappings with which the superstition and childish conceptions of Eastern peoples had in the long course of ages sought to adorn it." "It is addressed to those for whom material progress and augmented means of luxury do not constitute the goal of life, and to whom the prevalent cruel strife for the possession of worldly goods and grandeur, which the general selfishness makes each day more pitiless, is abhorrent; who long for that peace of the heart and satisfaction of the understanding which alone give life its value, and who fail to find these things in the soulless dogmas of the various Churches, or even in the results displayed, with whatever ostentation, by physical science." The Catechism consists of a brief introduction of six questions, and three main parts —of the Buddha (Qns. 7–68), the Doctrine (Dhamma, Qns. 69–156), and the Brotherhood of the Elect (Sangha, Qns. 157–171). It opens thus:

1. *Of what religion are you?*

Of the Buddhist religion.

2. *What is a Buddhist?*

One who reveres the Buddha as the dispenser of spiritual light, the supreme guide and teacher of all living beings; who believes his doctrine, observes its precepts, and has given public and solemn testimony to this, by repeating what is called the "Refuge" formula.

3. *What are the words of the formula or declaration so called?*

They are as follows:

I take my refuge in the Buddha.

I take my refuge in the doctrine (Dhamma).

I take my refuge in the Brotherhood of the Elect (Sangha).

4. *What is the solemn repetition of this formula meant to express?*

He who utters the formula publicly affirms by so doing that he henceforth considers the Buddha his master and guide, acknowledges the sacred doctrine to be the foundation and essence of all truth and righteousness, and declares the Brotherhood of the Elect to be the true and faithful followers, teachers, and interpreters of this doctrine.

5. *Is this formula obligatory on all Buddhists?*

On all without exception, whether they belong to the Buddhist laity or to the Brotherhood of the Elect, who have embraced the life of a Bhikshu. He alone who has repeated the formula of Refuge, before a congregation or its representatives, is really a member of the Buddhist community.

6. *How should this Holy Triad (threefold Safe-guard), which the Buddhist professes to be his refuge, be called?*

The three guiding stars. For as the stars of heaven guide the lonely mariners across the dark and tempestuous sea, so they guide him who trusts in them across the desert ocean of ignorance, passion, and worldly desire into the haven of eternal peace (Nirvana). Therefore the Buddhist, full of trust, of gratitude and veneration, looks up to these three guiding stars, fervently repeating:

Reverence to the Blessed One, who has overcome the world, the self-enlightened Supreme Buddha.

Reverence to the holy, pure, and saving doctrine.

Reverence to the Brotherhood of the Elect.

Questions 7–10 describe the Buddha as "the Founder of the kingdom of righteousness and truth, the self-enlightened Blessed One, perfect in holiness, wisdom, and mercy," not "a God who has revealed himself to mankind," nor "One sent by God to bring salvation" . . . "but a man far superior to ordinary men, one of a series of self-enlightened sublime Buddhas, who appear at long intervals in the world, and are morally and spiritually so superior to erring suffering mankind, that to the childlike conceptions of the multitude they appear as Gods or Messiahs."

Qns. 11–68 tell the story of Buddha's career and last hours.

Qns. 69–75 describe the sources of the doctrine in the Scriptures, 76–80 the pity and love of the Teacher and the need of man, 81–83 the Four Grand Truths—"Life implies pain: Pain has a source: That source can be stayed: The means of staying it are attainable";—and the Sublime Eightfold Path—"Right views, right aspirations, right speech, right conduct, right living, right effort, right mindfulness, right recollectedness,"

84–93. Nirvana, Re-birth, Karma.

Q. 94 says: "There is no personal God-Creator, on whose mercy and goodwill the universe is dependent. Everything owes its origin and development to its own inherent vitalism, or, what comes to the same, its own will to live. Human ignorance it is which alone invented a personal God-Creator. The Buddhist utterly rejects the belief in a personal God, and distinctly denies the doctrine of a creation out of nothing."

Qns. 95–98 affirm the speculative insolubility of the problem of life, its origin and destiny: the Buddha knew the solution, but taught nothing of it, because "it would not promote the spiritual and moral welfare of mankind."

Qns. 99–108 affirm its practical solution by living the life of the Brotherhood: the Five Vows of the lay adherent or confessor—not to destroy life, not to steal, not to be unchaste, not to lie, deceive, or bear false witness, not to drink intoxicants—must be supplemented by three further vows—not to eat food after the mid-day meal, not to dance, engage in public amusements or worldly dissipation, not to wear ornaments, use perfumes, or indulge in personal vanities—and by the two final vows—to give up soft bedding and to live in voluntary poverty.

Qns. 109–111 deny that the vows are sacrifice or anything but deliverance, and that even the Buddha can redeem another soul than his own.

Qns. 112–155 explain the law of justice, of merit and demerit, the evil of selfishness, of retaliation; deny that punishment must be eternal, or that children are punished for the sins of parents; explain the present sufferings of the upright by wrong done in previous lives; affirm the legitimacy of suicide when others are not wronged by it, but describe it as vain and foolish; explain by illusion and ignorance our oblivion of past lives; enumerate the Ten Fetters; affirm the perfect tolerance of Buddha and Buddhism; discuss helps to the religious life, repentance, expiation, prayers, sacrifices, rites, their value and their limitations; the danger of images, the innocence of flower-offerings and incense, the distinctive features of Buddhism, its sacred traditions and books, their truth and error, the infallibility of Buddha himself, errors of science in the Pitakas.

Q. 156 affirms—"the doctrine of the Buddha will not pass away as long as the world exists, for its pervading spirit is Eternal Truth itself, which was embodied in the person of the Buddha and in his

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words and ideas. The outward form of the doctrine is subject to change, for in succeeding cycles of many thousand years' duration, new Buddhas will arise and teach the doctrine of Suffering and Redemption under new forms, and in harmony with the demands of new times."

Qns. 157–171 describe the Order, conditions of admission, novitiate, vows and rules, freedom to retract vows, relation to laity, and ideals of life.

THE PARSI CATECHISM.

The Parsi Catechism is entitled, "A few Questions and Answers to acquaint the Children of the Holy Zarthosti Community with the subject of the Mazdiashna Religion. Dialogue between a Zarthosti Master and Pupil." It was among the earliest products of the reaction against Christian work and influence in Bombay in the middle of last century.[1] It begins :

Question. Whom do we of the Zarthosti community believe in ?

Answer. We believe in only one God, and do not believe in any beside Him.

Q. Who is that one God ?

A. The God who created the heavens, the earth, the angels, the stars, the sun, the moon, the fire, the water, or all the four elements, and all things of the two worlds : that God we believe in—Him we worship, Him we invoke, and Him we adore.

Q. Do we not believe in any other God ?

A. Whoever believes in any other God but this is an infidel, and shall suffer the punishment of hell.

Q. What is the form of our God ?

A. Our God has neither face nor form, colour nor shape, nor fixed place. There is no other like Him ; He is Himself singly such a glory that we cannot praise or describe Him : nor our mind comprehend Him.

Q. Is there any such thing that God even cannot create ?

A. Yes ; there is one thing that God even cannot create.

Q. What that thing is must be explained to me.

A. God is the creator of all things ; but if He wish to create

[1] *Religious Systems of the World*, London, 1889 ; 8th ed. 1905 ; paper by Dadabhai Naoroji, pp. 186, 187.

another like Himself, He cannot do it. God cannot create another like Himself.

Q. What is our religion ?

A. Our religion is " Worship of God."

Q. Whence did we receive our religion ?

A. God's true prophet—the true Zurthost—brought the religion for us from God.

Q. Where should I turn my face when worshipping the holy Hormuzd ?

A. We should worship the holy, just Hormuzd with our face towards some of His creations of light, and glory, and brightness.

Q. Which are those things ?

A. Such as the sun, the moon, the stars, the fire, water, and other such things of glory. To such things we turn our face, and consider them our *kibleh* (lit. *the thing opposite*), because God has bestowed upon them a small spark of His pure glory, and they are therefore more exalted in the creation, and fit to be our *kibleh* (representing this power and glory).

Q. What commands has God sent us through His prophet, the exalted Zurthost ?

A. Many are those commands, but I give you the principal, which must always be remembered, and by which we must guide ourselves :

To know God as one ; to know the prophet, the exalted Zurthost, as His true prophet ; to believe the religion, and the Avesta brought by him, as true beyond all manner of doubt ; to believe in the goodness of God ; not to disobey any of the commands of the Mazdiashna religion ; to avoid evil deeds ; to exert for good deeds, to pray five times in the day ; to believe in the reckoning and justice on the fourth morning after death ; to hope for heaven and to fear hell ; to consider doubtless the day of general destruction and purification (of all suffering souls) ; to remember always that God has done what He willed, and shall do what He will ; to face some luminous object while worshipping God.

Q. If we commit any sin, will our prophet save us ?

A. Never commit any sin under that faith, because our prophet, our guide to the right path, has distinctly commanded, " You shall receive according to what you do." Your deeds will determine your return in the other world. . . . There is none save God that could save you from the consequences of your sin. If any one com-

mit a sin under the belief that he shall be saved by somebody, both the deceiver as well as the deceived shall be damned to the day of . . . the end of this world.

Q. What are those things by which man is blessed and benefited ?

A. To do virtuous deeds, to give in charity, to be kind, to be humble, to speak sweet words, to wish good to others, to have a clear heart, to acquire learning, to speak the truth, to suppress anger, to be patient and contented, to be friendly, to feel shame, to pay due respect to the old and young, to be pious, to respect our parents and teachers. All these are the friends of the good men and enemies of the bad men.

Q. What are those things by which man is lost and degraded ?

A. To tell untruths, to steal, to gamble, to look with wicked eye upon a woman, to commit treachery, to abuse, to be angry, to wish ill to another, to be proud, to mock, to be idle, to slander, to be avaricious, to be disrespectful, to be shameless, to be hot-tempered, to take what is another's property, to be revengeful, unclean, obstinate, envious, to do harm to any man, to be superstitious, and do any other wicked and iniquitous action. These are all the friends of the wicked, and the enemies of the virtuous.

A careful perusal of these Catechisms leaves one deeply impressed by the implicit testimony they bear to the unique power of Christianity, whose language they not seldom borrow, whose criticism has driven them to reformation and self-restraint, and whose antagonism has been the one historical stimulus sufficient to drive the faiths they represent to serious self-examination and self-utterance. They illustrate the extent to which its methods, its experience, and its ideals have made themselves standards to all the world.

CHAPTER III.

CREEDS AND CONFESSIONS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT AND IN LATER JEWISH LITERATURE.

NEITHER in ancient nor in subsequent Hebrew religion has there ever been exhibited a zeal for the composition and acceptance of binding Confessions. Like most ancient religions, that of Israel was national. Men inherited it naturally, were born into it. It was, indeed, with its beliefs and ceremonies, the distinctive possession of the race. Only in view of sectarian controversy and of proselytization would any formal definition of their faith be necessary beyond the simpler confessions which were inwoven in their forms of worship. Even at the admission of proselytes in ancient times, it was not so much a formal profession of doctrines that was required as a sacramental and symbolic initiation through the rites of circumcision and baptism, admitting the Gentile to the household and nation, and therewith also to the religion of Israel. The Hebrew Creed, with its virtual monopoly of monotheism, was so conspicuous, so simple, and so well known as not to require any explicit formulation. Only after Hebrew religion became the religion of a book, of a closed canon of Scripture, did the impulse arise in Israel, as later in Christendom, to define its faith through scholastic controversy more narrowly than by reference to the contents of the Book as a whole. The silencing of the voice of prophecy was the signal for the opening of the mouths of sectarian disputants claiming to possess orthodoxy and to condemn heresy.

IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

In the Old Testament as in the New, and perhaps in all Sacred Books, the doctrinal element is not precipitated in formal groups of articles of faith. The crystallization of doctrine was the work of a later age, less generously inspired. But numerous passages may be pointed out as approximations to a summary of faith or duty. The Books of Psalms and Isaiah abound in creed-matter, lyrically or didactically expressed, concerning the nature and work of God, and the ideal and duty of man.[1]

The true Creed of Israel in the Old Testament, and ever since, is the "*Shema*"—

"Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God, the Lord is one" (Deut. vi. 4),

and it is reinforced as a standard by the *Ten Words of the Law* (Ex. xx. 2–17; Deut. v. 6–21). The Creed and the Commandments, supplemented by the sacramental rites of circumcision and, at the admission of proselytes, also of baptism, constituted the very centre and nucleus of Hebrew faith and ritual, the true source and standard of all subsequent confession.[2]

IN LATER JEWISH LITERATURE.

In post-biblical times we may trace a series of attempts to define the articles of true Hebrew faith, most of which had a controversial origin, and many of which have left their traces upon the liturgy of the Synagogue.[3] The early differences between the Pharisees and the Sadducees were far from completely doctrinal, but certain points of doctrine were involved, *e.g.* fate and freewill, bodily resurrection,

[1] Cf. Ps. xv., cxxxv., cxxxvi., cxlv.; Isa. i. 16, 17, xxxiii. 15, xlii.–xlviii. *passim*, xlv. 5–7; Mic. vi. 8.

[2] Cf. Mark xii. 29–31, Christ's epitome of Hebrew faith and duty.

[3] LITERATURE.—*Jewish Encyclopædia*, articles by E. G. Hirsch on "Articles of Faith," with bibliog.; and by H. P. Mendes on "Rabbinical Conferences"; Schechter, *Studies of Judaism*, pp. 147–181; J. Aub, *Die Glaubens-Symbole der Mosaischen Religion*; Yost, *Gesch. des Judenthums und seiner Sekten.*

future retribution, the existence of angels, demons, and spirits ; and their discussion affected progress towards a consensus of belief. In the Mishnah, speculative differences of opinion are both evidenced and discouraged. Heretical schools of thought were in view when the " Hear, O Israel," the Messianic predictions in the " Eighteen Benedictions," and the Decalogue were made conspicuous in the prayer-book liturgy.

Philo of Alexandria, as was natural in a city which brought Greek and Jewish thought face to face, drew up a group of five distinctive Hebrew doctrines[1]—i. God is, and rules ; ii. God is one ; iii. The world was created ; iv. Creation is one ; v. The divine Providence rules Creation. R. Akiba found in love towards one's neighbour the fundamental principle of the Law : the elder Hillel in the Golden rule. R. Simlai in the third century A.D. showed how in succession Moses defines religion by means of six hundred and thirteen commands, positive and negative, David by eleven, Isaiah by six, Micah by three, and Habakkuk by the single sentence, " The just shall live by his faith " (ii. 4). Very generally in every age the Decalogue has been regarded as containing not only an epitome of duty, but a summary of faith.

In all Jewish prayer-books there is in the daily liturgy a confession of faith believed to have been written in Maccabæan times (*c.* 100 B.C.), and to have run somewhat as follows :

" True and established is this word for us for ever. True it is that Thou art our God as Thou wast the God of our fathers : our King as the King of our fathers : our Redeemer and the Redeemer of our fathers : our Creator and the Rock of our salvation : our Deliverer and Saviour—this from eternity is Thy name, and there is no God besides Thee."

Most widely though not universally accepted among Jewish articles are the Thirteen which Maimonides while yet a young man drew up, and which came to find a place in the old prayer-book. According to their author, their

[1] *De Mundi Opificio*, lxi.

rejection was a confession of unbelief, and meant practical excommunication from Israel. On account of their importance they may be quoted in full :

i. ' I firmly believe that the Creator—blessed be His name !—is both Creator and Ruler of all created things, and that He alone hath made, doth make, and ever will make all works of nature."

ii. " I firmly believe that the Creator—blessed be His name !—is one ; and no unity is like His in any form ; and that He alone is our God who was, is, and ever will be."

iii. " I firmly believe that the Creator—blessed be His name ! —is not a body, and no corporeal relations apply to Him ; and that there exists nothing that has any similarity to Him."

iv. " I firmly believe that the Creator—blessed be His name !—was the first and will also be the last."

v. " I firmly believe that the Creator—blessed be His name !—is alone worthy of being worshipped, and that no other being is worthy of our worship."

vi. " I firmly believe that all the words of the Prophets are true."

vii. " I firmly believe that the prophecy of Moses, our master—peace be upon him !—was true ; and that he was the chief of the Prophets, both of those that preceded him, and of those that followed him."

viii. " I firmly believe that the Law which we possess now is the same that hath been given to Moses our master—peace be upon him ! "

ix. " I firmly believe that this Law will not be changed, and that there will be no other law given by the Creator—blessed be His name ! "

x. " I firmly believe that the Creator—blessed be His name !—knoweth all the actions of men and all their thoughts, as it is said : " He that fashioneth the hearts of them all, He that considereth all their works (Ps. xxxiii. 15)."

xi. " I firmly believe that the Creator—blessed be He ! —rewardeth those that keep His Commandments, and punisheth those that transgress His Commandments."

xii. " I firmly believe in the coming of the Messiah ; and although He may tarry, I daily hope for His coming."

xiii. " I firmly believe that there will take place a revival of

the dead at a time which will please the Creator,—blessed be His name, and exalted His memorial for ever and ever ! "

The successors of Maimonides in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries for the most part accepted his articles as they stood, or reduced them to three, like Albo (viz. God's existence as one, eternal and incorporeal, His revelation in law and prophecy, His retribution at the resurrection), or to seven, or expanded them to a much greater number; or, like Asher ben Jehiel of Toledo, pronounced them but temporary; or, like Isaac Abravanel, protested against the adoption of any articles by Israel other than the six hundred and thirteen commandments of Moses,—truly a sufficient number to remember !

As distinct from the Rabbinites, the Karaites have prepared their own lists of articles. Among them may be mentioned as most important those of Judah Hadassi, reproduced with improvements by the learned Elijah Bashyatzi in the fifteen century. Save in minor matters they do not differ from the tenets of Maimonides.

In modern times, apart from the composition of metrical articles such as the anonymous " *Eternal Lord* " used as an introduction to morning service, and numerous Catechisms containing articles of faith for local use by candidates for Confirmation, reference may be made to the liberal or conservative declarations of Jewish principles issued by successive Conferences of American Rabbis, *e.g.* at Philadelphia (1869), and at Pittsburg (1885), and at New York (1898). At the Central Conference of American Rabbis at Milwaukee, Wis., in 1896, a " Proselyte Confession " was adopted, embracing four articles: i. God the Only One; ii. Man, His image; iii. Immortality of the Soul, and retribution; iv. Israel's mission.

CHAPTER IV.

CREEDS AND CONFESSIONS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. IN THE GOSPELS.

IN all the Gospels, conviction that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ, the veritable Son of God, is represented not only as His own fixed possession and the basis of His ministry in all its many-sidedness, and as strengthened by the repeated Voice from Heaven at His baptism and transfiguration, but as increasingly shared by the Baptist, by the disciples, and by others who came into contact with Him. The narratives further make it plain that it was a definite part of His purpose to elicit in time spontaneous acknowledgments of faith in His Messiahship spiritually understood in relation both to God and to humanity, and that He welcomed them, whether at the time He desired them to be openly proclaimed or not. It is, moreover, the obvious intention of the Four Evangelists, in their choice of biographical matter and in their writing, to be loyal to the aim of their Master, and similarly to induce faith in His Christhood (cf. John xx. 31 : " these [signs] are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God ; and that believing ye may have life in his name "). Mark, equally with John, is careful to record acknowledgments of His Messianic Sonship ; nor are Matthew and Luke less concerned to do the same. There is accordingly in the Gospels a striking abundance of confessional utterance. It is almost wholly direct, personal, spontaneous, brief, simple in form, and concerned with Jesus' Christhood not merely in an official or national sense, but as constituting Him uniquely " Son of God." It is reinforced by such

passages as, on the one hand, the parallels Mark i. 11, Matt. iii. 17, Luke iii. 22, which reproduce the Messianic self-consciousness of Jesus at His baptism, reflected in Peter, James, and John at His transfiguration (Mark ix. 7; Matt. xvii. 5; Luke ix. 35), and, on the other hand, Mark viii. 38, Matt. x. 26–33, xxviii. 19, Luke xii. 2–9, in which Jesus expressly enjoins fearless confession of Himself. The following are the chief passages :—

In Mark the demoniacs whom Jesus heals confess Him "the Holy One of God" (i. 24), "the Son of God" (iii. 11), "Son of the Most High God" (v. 7); blind Bartimæus hails Him as "Son of David" (x. 47); the deaf mute's father says, "I believe, help thou mine unbelief" (ix. 24); the crowd acclaim Him, "Hosanna! blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord," etc. (xi. 9 f.). To the high priest's question, "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" and to Pilate's question, "Art thou king of the Jews?" He answers in the affirmative (xiv. 61 f., xv. 2). In mockery the soldiers hail Him "King of the Jews" (xv. 18), in sincerity the centurion at the Cross as "truly a Son of God" (xv. 39). In viii. 29, Peter's confession is given as simply, "Thou art the Christ." In xii. 29–31, Jesus condenses the sum of faith and duty in the two "Great Commandments" prefaced by the "Hear, O Israel."

In Matthew we find Jesus confessed as "Son of God" by demoniacs (viii. 29), by disciples in the boat (xiv. 33), and by the centurion (xxvii. 54); as "Son of David" by blind men (ix. 27), by a Canaanitish woman (xv. 22), and by the acclaiming multitude (xxi. 9), including children (xxi. 15); as teacher of truth by Pharisees and Herodians (xxii. 16), and frequently as "Lord" and "Master"; as "the Christ, Son of the living God," by Peter (xvi. 16), and by Himself before the high priest (xxvi. 63 f.); as "King of the Jews," mockingly by soldiers (xxvii. 29), and by Himself before Pilate (xxvii. 11). In the Beatitudes, the Lord's Prayer, and the Great Commandments, articles of the Kingdom are enshrined. In the baptismal formula, "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit" (xxviii. 19),

a resurrection saying whose text, at these words, is not certainly authentic, a confessional summary or nucleus of belief is prescribed. Peter's failure to confess (xxvi. 69–75) is an object-lesson, while in vii. 21 the insufficiency of mere formal confession is exposed: "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven."

In Luke we have precise parallels to the passages in Mark and Matthew, marked only by slight variations. Demoniacs confess Jesus as "the Holy One of God" (iv. 34), "the Son of God" (iv. 41), "Son of the Most High God" (viii. 28), the blind beggar as "Son of David" (xviii. 38), the crowd as "the King that cometh in the name of the Lord" (xix. 38), the centurion at the Cross as "certainly a righteous man" (xxiii. 47), Peter as "the Christ of God" (ix. 20); while He Himself acknowledges that He is the Son of God (xxii. 70), and King of the Jews (xxiii. 3). In addition to the Lord's Prayer and the Great Commandments, Luke also records the sayings which deprecate confession without obedience (vi. 46), and intolerance towards Christians of another following—"Forbid him not: for he that is not against you is for you" (ix. 49, 50).

In John we have the Gospel *par excellence* of confession. It is, throughout, the record of successive workings of conviction that Jesus is Christ, and of their issue in explicit confession. Belief or faith is the keynote of the book. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish" (iii. 16); "he that believeth on the Son hath eternal life" (iii. 36). Apart from the minor confessions of Nicodemus (iii. 2), and of the Samaritan woman (iv. 19) to whom Jesus is moved to declare Himself the Christ (iv. 26, cf. ix. 35, x. 36), and of other Samaritans, "this is indeed the Saviour of the world" (iv. 42), the Gospel records those of John the Baptist—"the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world" (i. 29), "the Son of God" (i. 34); of Nathanael—"Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art King of Israel" (i. 49); of Martha—"I have believed

that thou art the Christ, the Son of God, even he that cometh into the world" (xi. 27); of Peter speaking for the Twelve—"we have believed and known that thou art the Holy One of God" (vi. 69); and, supreme among the series, that of Thomas to the Risen Lord—"My Lord and my God" (xx. 28)—if, with most scholars and in harmony with the teaching of the Prologue to the Gospel, "the Word was God," we take the words of Thomas as an apostrophe to the Christ.

II. IN THE OTHER APOSTOLIC WRITINGS.

In the Apostolic writings which remain to be considered, the types of confession found in the Gospels are reproduced and extended. All preaching, all profession, and all participation in the Church's young life was of the nature of confession. The memory of Jesus was still vivid, and confession of Him by the Apostles was as personal and simple as ever, though on the part of those who believed on the strength of their witness faith naturally came to express itself in terms of what Jesus had historically been as well as of what He meant to the heart. The lapse of time could not but work changes in the forms of confession: reminiscence and doctrine were bound to colour them. The preachers of Jesus had to tell the story of His life in support of their contention that hope and prophecy found fulfilment in Him as the Christ. Their recollection of His career had to be set alongside of their estimate of His person. Accordingly, in the Apostolic age confession fluctuated between three main forms: (1) acceptance of Him as Christ, or Lord, or Son of God; (2) acceptance of an outline of the main facts of tradition about His home and life; and (3) acceptance of the threefold Divine self-revelation in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper involved open profession before the Church and the World as well as inward grace, and the doctrine and history embodied in their meaning were like a creed implicit in their celebration.

Instruction of inquirers and converts seeking baptism tended to dwell on certain customary themes, just as the Apostolic preaching reflected in the Acts and Epistles tended to follow certain customary lines, and a more or less uniform standard of historical and doctrinal knowledge was expected to be attained as part, at least, of baptismal qualification. Inevitably the three types varied, but they varied in the direction of greater comprehensiveness and of ultimate convergence. What came to be known as the Apostles' Creed in a later age was, in fact, the briefest possible combination of the three, confessing at once Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Jesus as Christ, and the main facts of Jesus' earthly life, from conception and birth to death, resurrection, and ascension. Without attempting to be exhaustive, one may note the following passages by way of illustration :

In Acts the summaries of the Apostolic sermons, though they vary in length and general character, are alike in this, that they embody personal professions of faith uttered with a missionary purpose. They plainly conform to one type : their common elements were the implicit articles of the growing creed of the Church, and they are presented, naturally, in a markedly Jewish setting. The confessions in Jerusalem of Peter (ii. 22–24, 32–36, iii. 13 ff., iv. 10–12), of Peter and the Apostles (v. 30–32), of Stephen (vii. 1–53), those of Peter at Cæsarea (x. 36–43), and of Paul at Antioch of Pisidia (xiii. 16–39), turn upon the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth according to prophecy, His wonderful works, His holiness and goodness, His crucifixion, resurrection, ascension, promise and gift of the Holy Spirit, upon the need of repentance towards God and faith in Christ. While He is "Lord" and "Master," "Christ" and "Son of God," the Deity of Jesus is not theologically affirmed : He is "the Son of Man" (vii. 56), "a man approved of God," whom "God hath made both Lord and Christ" (ii. 22, 36), God's "Servant," God's "Holy and Righteous One," "the Prince of Life" (iii. 13–15). More concisely still the Apostolic faith and

message are described as "preaching Jesus" (viii. 35), "teaching and preaching Jesus as the Christ" (v. 42, xviii. 5, 28), "witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus" (iv. 33), "testifying both to Jews and Greeks repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ" (xx. 21), "testifying the kingdom of God and persuading them concerning Jesus, both from the Law of Moses and from the prophets" (xxviii. 23), "preaching the kingdom of God and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ" (xxviii. 31), "good tidings concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ" (viii. 12). Baptism, the sequel of confession, is uniformly administered "in the name of Jesus Christ" (ii. 38, x. 48), "the name" being the centre of belief, the *word* of preaching and of healing. According to a very early interpolation (viii. 37), it is administered by Philip on the condition "if thou believest with all thy heart," and after the confession "I believe Jesus Christ is the Son of God" (cf. xv. 11, xvi. 31). But from the first it is distinguished from John's baptism as being "of the Holy Spirit," the triune Name being thus prepared for and implied, and the threefold formula suggested.

Reference is made to doctrinal controversy not only between Sadducees and Pharisees: "the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit; but the Pharisees *confess* both" (xxiii. 8),—an early theological use of the word "confess" in reference to articles of faith; but also among Christians regarding circumcision (chap. xv.). Christians are described as a "sect" or "heresy" of the Nazarenes, and marked off both from Jews and from Gentiles (xxiv. 5, xi. 26). But Paul as a Christian can still make a confession characteristic of the Pharisaic school in which he had been trained—"This I confess unto thee, that after the Way which they call a sect ('heresy'), so serve I the God of our fathers, believing all things which are according to the Law and which are written in the Prophets: having a hope toward God, which these also themselves look for, that there shall be a resur-

rection both of the just and unjust" (xxiv. 14 f.); and, addressing Greeks in Athens, he can appeal to articles of belief held by Jews in common with them, viz. the Creatorship, Fatherhood, and Spirituality of God, and repentance for sin, Jesus being referred to only as "a man whom God hath ordained" to be His instrument of judgment for all the world and authenticated by His resurrection (xvii. 24–31).

In the Epistles of Paul, the Apostle of Faith, we look for the expansion and application, rather than the contraction and definition, of the first principles of Christian faith regarded as doctrine, but passages are not wanting in which an approach is made to a creed-summary.[1] In his Epistles, Paul rests upon the brief confession which characterizes the Apostolic utterances generally in the Gospels and in Acts, stipulating only that it be sincere: "No man can say, *Jesus is Lord*, but in the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor. xii. 3). "The word is nigh thee, in thy mouth and in thy heart: that is, the word of faith which we preach; because, if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved: for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation" (Rom. x. 8–10). "To us there is one God the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto him: and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him" (1 Cor. viii. 6). Among the foundation truths which Paul had received and hastened to deliver to the Corinthians he emphasizes these—"that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried; and that he hath been raised on the

[1] Prof. Seeberg of Berlin suggests as a reconstruction of Paul's Creed: "The living God who created all things sent His Son, Jesus Christ, born of the seed of David, who died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and was buried, who was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures and appeared to Cephas and the Twelve, who sat at the right hand of God in the heavens, all rule and authority and power being made subject unto him, and is coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory."

Prof. Zahn suggests that the primitive Creed of Antioch, Paul's missionary base, might consist of materials like 1 Tim. vi. 13; 2 Tim. i. 13, 14, ii. 8, iv. 1, 2.

third day according to the Scriptures ; and that he appeared to Cephas . . . to all the Apostles " (1 Cor. xv. 3 ff.). In close connexion with the exhortation " to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace," he writes : " there is one body, and one Spirit . . . one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all " (Eph. iv. 3–6). In 1 Tim. iii. 16 he appears to quote a lyric creed or hymn of the *mystery of the faith* (cf. 1 Tim. iii. 9, " the mystery of the faith ") : " Confessedly great is the mystery of godliness—He who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up in glory." In 2 Tim. i. 13 f. he urges Timothy to " hold the pattern of sound words which thou hast heard from me . . . and guard the good deposit which was committed unto thee." In these Epistles to Timothy and Titus there is a grave concern for the maintenance of " sound " doctrine and tradition (cf. 1 Tim. i. 10 f., ii. 5–7, iv. 1, vi. 1, 3–5, 12, 13, 20, 21 ; 2 Tim. ii. 23, iii. 14, iv. 3 ; Tit. i. 13 f., ii. 2, 7, 8), a fear of speculation and controversy in the Church, and a dread of factious or heretical teaching (Tit. iii. 10). Plainly the instinct to stereotype the articles of faith is actively at work.

In Hebrews a distinction is made between the rudiments of religion, the first principles of Christ, which the Jew possessed in common with the Christian, viz. " repentance from dead works, faith in God, baptismal doctrine, laying-on of hands, resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgment " (vi. 1 f.), and mature or perfected doctrine. In v. 12 allusion is made to " the first principles of the oracles of God " as matter of elementary knowledge.

In 1 John much stress is laid upon the duty of confessing Christ : " every spirit which confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God, and every spirit which confesseth not Jesus is not of God " (iv. 2 f.) ; " whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God abideth in him and he in God ' (iv. 15 ; cf. v. 1). His true humanity and His Divine Sonship are

thus the distinctive themes of a Christian confession (cf. 2 John vv. 7–10).

Jude speaks of "the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints" (ver. 3) as threatened by antinomian heresy "denying our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ" (ver. 4)—suggesting that "faith" had become a term denoting doctrine as well as a vital activity of the soul, and that "the Faith" was becoming a familiar term for the Christian Tradition.

It is thus apparent that the element of confession is present in every stratum of New Testament Scripture, and that the facts of Christian tradition and of Christian experience were from the outset distinguished from Hebrew and Gentile rudiments, and formulated in brief statements, one at least of which was lyric in form, perhaps a canticle of the earliest Church. Sincerity, spontaneity, candour, religious qualities on which the Master had laid unbounded stress, lent variety to the forms assumed by individual confession; but as the Apostolic teaching tended towards an essential unity of type, so the faith of the Apostolic Church tended to express itself with a certain uniformity also. To be a member presupposed baptism and acknowledgment of conversion and of the experienced power of faith in Christ. Baptism implied regeneration, new sonship to God, faith in God the Father: it implied faith in Jesus as Christ or Saviour, the unique Son sent to earth from the bosom of the Eternal Father: it implied experience of the Divine Spirit of adoption and sanctification, for it was not by water merely, but spiritual, and with inward power from above. Over-against the ancient rule of life, the Law given by Moses, there was now set an experience of renewing grace and saving truth by Jesus the Christ, not servant but Son of the Living God (John i. 17). To know God as Father and the Son whom He has sent into the world to save, is life eternal (John xvii. 3). "The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost," constitutes the utmost benediction of

the Apostle Paul (2 Cor. xiii. 14). "To us there is one God, the Father, and one Lord, Jesus Christ," is another summary from the same mind (1 Cor. viii. 6), supplemented by the explanation "no man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit" (1 Cor. xii. 3). The later Church could not mistake the creed foundation laid down for it by the first age. Experience of God as Father, Son, and Indwelling Spirit, and faith in the Triune name, was bound up with the simplest act of Baptism.[1]

[1] Cf. Prof. Harnack's discussion of the Origin of the Trinitarian Formula in *The Constitution and Law of the Church*, tr., Lond. 1910; Appendix ii.

CHAPTER V.

THE CREEDS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

THE APOSTLES' CREED, THE NICENE CREED, THE *TE DEUM*, AND THE *QUICUNQUE VULT*.

I. INTRODUCTION.

OUR survey of the New Testament references to confession of faith has made it evident that at the close of the Apostolic age no particular creed or confession could claim to have been exclusively or even expressly ordained for use either by Jesus or by His Apostles.[1] The explicit sanction of both Master and Apostles could be claimed only for the simple confession, "I believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God," or its equivalents. Baptism before the Church was the natural occasion for confession of faith, and for baptism that simple formula was at first sufficient.

[1] GENERAL LITERATURE.—A. E. BURN, *Introduction to the Creeds*, London, 1899 (an invaluable study), article "Creeds," in *Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 11, 1911, and "The Athanasian Creed," in vol. iv. of *Texts and Studies*, 1896; E. C. S. GIBSON, *The Three Creeds*, 1908; articles in Hauck-Herzog, *Realencycl.* ed. 3, "Apostolisches Symbolum," and "Konstantinopolitanisches Symbol," by HARNACK, "Athanasianum" by LOOFS, and "Te Deum" by KÖSTLIN; H. B. SWETE, *The Apostles' Creed*, 1899; A. C. MCGIFFORT, *The Apostles' Creed*, Edin. 1902; C. A. SWAINSON, *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds* (incl. Athanasian), London, 1875; F. KATTENBUSCH, *Das apostolische Symbol*, 1894–1900, and *Confessionskunde*, 1890; T. ZAHN, *Das apost. Symbolum*, 1893; F. LOOFS, *Symbolik*, Leipzig, 1902; E. F. KARL MÜLLER, *Symbolik*, 1896; P. SCHAFF, *Hist. of Creeds of Christendom*, and *Creeds of Greek and Latin Churches*, London and N.Y. 1877 and later; C. P. CASPARI, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel*, Christiania, 1866, and *Alte und neue Quellen*, 1879; C. A. HEURTLEY, *Harmonia Symbolica*, 1858; B. F. WESTCOTT, *The Historic Faith*, 1882; J. KUNZE, *Das nicänisch-konstantinopolitanische Symbol*; G. D. W. OMMANNEY, *The Athanasian Creed*, 1897; D. WATERLAND, *Critical History of Athanas. Creed*, ed. E. King, Oxford, 1870; article "Te Deum Laudamus," in Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*, London, 1892, by J. WORDSWORTH; J. R. LUMBY, *Hist. of the Creeds*, Camb. 1887.

But, as the Church grew and attracted men who had not enjoyed the privilege of Jewish education in religion either as Hebrews or as proselytes, and who had not already made profession of the Hebrew Creed, the course of instruction, both questions and answers, preparatory to admission by baptism, had to be enlarged alike in regard to distinctive Old Testament truth—God the One, the Creator, Upholder, Revealer, Judge—and in regard to distinctive Christian truth—the life and work of Jesus the Christ, the Christian Church, and the Christian Hope. Moreover, from the first, baptism in the name of Jesus, as Christ, Son of God and Lord, involved a far from narrow range of definite doctrines: it certainly implied acceptance of the distinctive teachings of the Lord and of the Apostolic estimate (religious rather than theological) of His Person and Work: it was a baptism outwardly by water, but inwardly and supremely by the Holy Spirit, the sanctifier and enlightener of men, a baptism of repentance issuing in regeneration, of reconciliation and restoration to God the Father, of the forgiveness of sins, of admission to the Church, the Lord's body. No account of the significance of even the simplest form of baptism and confession would be historically just which ignored any one of these implications. Sacramental acts are always and everywhere charged with meaning, and meaning involves the essence of doctrine. Dogma may be as authoritatively present in ceremonial acts as in Scriptures and literary definitions. Baptism, like communion in the Lord's Supper, was from the first an act eloquent of historical and doctrinal convictions as well as of personal self-surrender and dependence, and these convictions had to do with Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. At first the sense of mystic union with Christ and with the Brotherhood, only deepened by the external enmity of the Jewish Church and by the scorn and suspicion of Greece and Rome, sufficed to make Christians careless, if not unconscious, of the variety of constructions which they individually and locally put upon their Scriptures, traditions, and sacraments. But, as the gate of baptism opened wider and wider to admit

the ever-swelling stream of converts, new intellectual as well as moral and political ferments entered with the current, and future controversy was assured. Like Judaism, Christianity even at the simplest was a learned religion, a faith resting or leaning upon authoritative Scriptures, which had never been interpreted unanimously by their devotees, a religion therefore calling for a learned body of exponents, whose individual characteristics could not but find expression in varying interpretation. It was careful to preserve not only its inherited Jewish Bible but its own Apostolic memoirs and correspondence, and during the second and third centuries it was simultaneously evolving both a Canon of New Testament Scripture and a standard summary or Canon of Christian Faith to be professed by converts at their admission and by worshippers at public service. The two developments, of Canon and Creed, were exactly parallel and equally inevitable. The formation of a Canon, provoked by perverse appeals to inferior writings and by the popular need of literary and devotional guidance, as well as by controversy which threatened to be chronic and seriously to distract the Church and impair its usefulness and reputation, was not only the more urgent but in reality the simpler task, for it was not difficult to find a line of division between the spiritually impressive writings of the Apostolic circle, and the less forceful and commanding products of the succeeding age. Once formed and generally accepted, the double Canon of Jewish and Christian Scripture was bound to play a decisive part in the regulation of doctrine, in particular in the building and the testing of the Creeds. To be able to add to any article of faith the words "according to the Scriptures," or to appeal to them in reference not only to Hebrew Law and Prophecy but to Christian Gospel and Fulfilment, was decisive. It is a deeply significant historical fact that the two great creed-producing eras of the Church, the era of the Fathers and the era of the Reformation, were times when the Scriptures through fresh study and earnest investigation literally had "free course"; and it is to the extraordinary develop-

ment of serious Biblical scholarship in our own age, as much as to any concurrent cause, that we owe our present-day Confessional unrest. Nothing is more remarkable in the Creeds of the Ancient Church than the essentially Scriptural character which belongs to them all. Even of the theological clauses which controversy induced the Church to add to them by the authority of the great Councils, harmony with Scripture was a test which all parties were at one in recognizing, and moderate Churchmen of unimpugned orthodoxy objected to the use of words like *homoousion*, however consistent with Scripture teaching, because not Scriptural themselves. If the Church thought fit to expand the simple formulæ of confession found in the New Testament, and therefore possessing Apostolic authority, it was scrupulously careful to have Scripture warrant for the added clauses, so that the sacred form might retain its traditionally Apostolic character. Just as in the determination of the Canon of New Testament Scripture apostolicity was sufficient to ensure the insertion of a book within the sacred circle of inspired writings, so also in the formation of the Canon of Faith, Apostolic, that is Scriptural, authority was by the same exclusive instinct demanded for each successive clause which the great Churches added to the ancient form. Sometimes it was in refutation or in repudiation of a current heresy that a clause or phrase was added, if the menace to faith and harmony was serious enough : at other times it was by the silent idiosyncrasies of local usage, or by the natural desire to make the rule of faith as comprehensive in its statement of facts as its public and ceremonial use permitted. Although certain forms of Creed were finally able to assert their supremacy, and to attain an œcumenical or semi-œcumenical dignity, there was for long extreme diversity in detail among the symbols of the Churches. Faith in God the Father, in Jesus Christ His Son, and in the Holy Spirit, was the common basis of their structure in every part of the Christian world when the secrecy of their tradition was first relaxed and they were quoted by ecclesiastical writers whose works have

come down to us. The only possible explanation of this widespread uniformity of structure is that it was understood from the first to embody the essence of Apostolic testimony, usage, and authority.

Four main forms or types of Creed emerged from the fluid tradition and usage of the Ancient Church, and established themselves as normative and peculiarly sacred in Christendom.

Nearest in type to the earliest forms, but most variable and latest to assume its final wording, is the *Apostles' Creed*, completed by the middle of the eighth century, the Creed of Baptism, the Creed of the Catechumen, the product of the reflection and of the tradition of the Church.

The *Nicene Creed* of the fourth century in its various authoritative recensions represents the Theological Creed of the Communicant, not only of the believer, but of the Orthodox believer: the work of Councils, it rebuts heresy, and it ends appropriately with an anathema.

The *Te Deum* is a fourth-century paraphrase and expansion of the Apostles' Creed: the composition of an individual with a fine sense of the genius of worship, it is, even more than its prototype, a Canticle, the voice of Faith bursting into song, the Creed of general worship.

The *Athanasian Creed*, a blend of theological refining and repetition with less of the true lyric and liturgical instinct, combines the substance of the other three, turning the particular Nicene anathemas into a general threat or solemn admonition: it is a didactic Creed of the Clergy, in Dr. A. S. Burn's words [1] "an instruction designed to confute heresies which were current in the fifth century."

II. THE APOSTLES' CREED.

Next to the true Apostolic Creed, the Rock-Foundation of Christian Faith revealed to Peter and accepted by his Master, "Thou art the Christ, Son of the Living God,"

[1] Art. "Creeds," in *Encycl. Brit.*, ed. 11, 1911.

and to the Apostolic Formula of Baptism, single or triune, which the faith of the infant Church delighted to trace back to the very lips of the Risen Lord, the type of Creed known as the Apostles' has established itself spontaneously throughout Christendom as the most precious and sacred. The early tradition, attested in Italy by Rufinus of Aquileia and Ambrose of Milan before the end of the fourth century, long believed by the whole Church, and still sanctioned by the Roman Catechism, that it was drawn up by the Apostles in Jerusalem under the shadow of Pentecost before their missionary dispersion, and the later legend[1] that variously assigned to each of the Twelve, from Peter to Matthias, his clause, are popular ecclesiastical ways of emphasizing the Scriptural and Apostolic character of the several clauses in the Creed, and the immemorial antiquity of its type of confession. Had such a form been drawn up clause by clause by the Twelve, it is, of course, inconceivable that the great Churches of early Christendom would have allowed it to vary in detail as historically it did. But, if it comes short of Apostolic origin, it may be traced to the beginning of the second century, when Ignatius of Antioch[2] appears to quote or echo a current summary of faith and doctrine of similar character:

"Be ye deaf, therefore, when any man speaketh to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David, who was the son of Mary, who was truly born and ate and drank, was truly perse-

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[1] The legend, which may rest on a Latin confusion of *σύμβολον*, *password*, with *συμβολή*, *contribution*, as early as Rufinus, was cast in rough mnemonic hexameter verse during the Middle Ages:

Articula fidei sunt bis sex corde tenendi,
Quos Christi socii docuerunt Pneumate pleni:

Credo Deum Patrem, Petrus inquit, *cuncta creantem*;
Andreas dixit, *Ego credo Jesum fore Christum*;
Conceptum, natum, Jacobus; *passumque* Joannes;
Inferna, Philippus, *fugit*; Thomasque, *revixit*;
Scandit, Bartholomæus; *veniet censere*, Matthæus;
Pneuma, Minor Jacobus; Simon, *peccata remittit*;
Restituit, Judas, *carnem*; *vitamque*, Matthias.

[2] *Trall.* 9.

cuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died in the sight of those in heaven and on earth and below the earth; who also was truly raised from the dead, His Father having raised Him, who will raise us also in like manner who believe on Him—His Father, I mean, will raise us—in Christ Jesus apart from whom we have not true life."

By the end of the second century, in spite of the reserve which deterred the early Church from committing to written form its symbol of faith and communion, we find it paraphrased and embedded in the writings of Irenæus, who represents Asia Minor as well as Southern Gaul, and of Tertullian of Carthage.

IRENÆUS (*c.* A.D. 180),—ASIA MINOR AND GAUL.

For Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp of Smyrna, the baptismal Creed is the Teaching or Tradition of Apostles, the Canon of Truth, the True Knowledge, the Preaching of the Church. In a notable passage[1] he writes:

"The Church, though scattered through the whole world to the ends of the earth, has received from the Apostles and their disciples the faith in one God, the Father Almighty, who hath made the heaven and the earth and the seas and all that in them is; and in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God, who was made flesh for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who through the Prophets preached the dispensations and the advents, and the birth from the virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the bodily assumption into heaven of the beloved Christ Jesus our Lord, and his appearing from heaven in the glory of the Father to comprehend all things under one head, and to raise up all flesh of all mankind, that, according to the good pleasure of the Father Invisible, every knee of those that are in heaven and on the earth and under the earth should bow to Christ Jesus our Lord and God and Saviour and King, and that every tongue should confess to him, and that he should execute righteous judgment over all, sending into eternal fire the spiritual powers of wickedness, and the angels who transgressed and apostatized, and the godless and unrighteous and lawless and blasphemous among men, and granting life and

[1] *Contra Hæreses*, i. 10, § 1.

immortality and eternal glory to the righteous and holy, who have both kept the Commandments and continued in his love, some from the beginning, some after their conversion.—The Church having received this preaching and this faith . . . zealously preserves it as one household . . . and unanimously preaches and teaches the same, and hands it down as by one mouth ; for although there are different dialects in the world, the power of the tradition is one and the same. And in no other manner have the Churches established in Germany believed and handed down, nor those in Spain, nor among the Celts, nor in the East, nor in Egypt, nor in Libya, nor those established in the middle of the world. But as the sun, God's creature, is one and the same in all the world, so too the preaching of the truth shines everywhere and enlightens all men who wish to come to the knowledge of the truth. And neither will he who is very mighty in speech among those who preside over the churches say other than this (for the disciple is not above his Master), nor does he who is weak in the word impair the tradition."

And in another passage[1] Irenæus adds :

"If the Apostles had not left to us the Scriptures, would it not be necessary to follow the order of tradition, which those to whom they committed the churches handed down ? To this order many nations of barbarians give assent, those who believe in Christ having salvation written in their hearts by the Spirit without paper and ink, and guarding diligently the ancient tradition, believing in one God, Maker of heaven and earth and all that in them is, through Christ Jesus the Son of God ; who for his astounding love towards his creatures sustained the birth of the virgin, himself uniting his manhood to God, and suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rose again, and was received in glory, shall come in glory, the Saviour of those who are saved, and the Judge of those who are judged ; and sending into eternal fire the perverters of the truth and the despisers of his Father and of his advent."

TERTULLIAN (*c.* A.D. 200),—CARTHAGE.

Tertullian quotes or paraphrases the "Rule of Faith" in three passages, each of which deserves to be given in full.

[1] *Contra Hæreses*, iii. 4, §§ 1 and 2.

1. "The Rule of Faith is altogether one, sole, immovable, and irreformable, namely, to believe in one God Almighty the maker of the world; and his Son, Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, on the third day raised again from the dead, received in the heavens, sitting now at the right hand of the Father, coming to judge the living and the dead, also through the resurrection of the flesh." [1]

2. "But we believe always, and now more, being better instructed by the Paraclete, the Leader into all truth, in one God, but under this dispensation, which we call economy, that there is also a Son of the one God, his Word who hath proceeded from himself, by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing was made: in him sent by the Father into the Virgin, and born of her, man and God, son of man and son of God, and called Jesus Christ: in him as having suffered, died, and been buried, according to the Scriptures; and raised again by the Father, taken up again into the heavens, sitting at the right hand of the Father, to come to judge the living and the dead; who hath sent thence, according to his promise, from the Father, the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, the Sanctifier of the faith of those who believe on the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit." [2]

3. "The Rule of Faith is . . . that, namely, by which we believe that there is but one God and no other besides the Maker of the World, who produced the universe out of nothing, by his Word sent forth first of all; that this Word, called his Son, was seen in the name of God in various ways by the patriarchs, was always heard in the prophets, at last was sent down from the Spirit and power of God the Father into the Virgin Mary, was made flesh in her womb, and born of her, appeared as Jesus Christ; that then he preached the new law and the new promise of the kingdom of heaven; wrought miracles; was nailed to the Cross; rose again on the third day; was caught up to the heavens; and sat down at the right hand of the Father; sent in his stead the power of the Holy Spirit to guide believers; he will come again with glory to take the saints into the enjoyment of eternal life and the celestial promises, and to judge the wicked with eternal fire after the resuscitation of both, with the restitution of the flesh." [3]

For Tertullian the 'Rule of Faith' no longer denotes

[1] *De Virginibus Velandis*, c. i.
[2] *Adversus Praxeam*, c. ii.
[3] *De Præscript. Hæret.* c. xiii.

Holy Scripture ; it always means the Creed, which is above question, and by which conflicting interpretations or summaries of Scripture are to be tested. He says it was probably instituted by Christ. The 'Rule of Faith' which he knows in Carthage is a 'token,' 'symbol,' or 'passport to communion,' shared, he tells us, by the African Churches with the Church of Rome.[1] The Roman Creed, therefore, was essentially the same as that of Carthage, and had reached a fixed and familiar form before the end of the second century. In structure and contents it was substantially the Apostles' Creed as we know it, lacking only a few clauses and phrases.[2]

CYPRIAN (*c.* A.D. 250),—CARTHAGE.

Fifty years later than Tertullian, and in the same Church, Cyprian, his disciple, gives an interrogative form of creed : [3]

" Dost thou believe in God the Father, in Christ the Son, in the Holy Spirit ? Dost thou believe in the forgiveness of sins, and the life everlasting, through the holy Church ? "

ORIGEN (*c.* A.D. 230),—ALEXANDRIA.

In the introduction to his great work, *First Principles*, extant in the Latin version of Rufinus, Origen emphasizes the need of a 'definite rule' to guide believers in Scripture amid the diversity of interpretations, and affirms that the Apostles left such a statement of true doctrine, leaving questions of the 'why' and the 'whence' to philosophers. He writes :

" The form of those things which are manifestly delivered by the preaching of the Apostles is this :

[1] *De Præscript. Hæret.* c. xxxvi.

[2] For a detailed discussion of Tertullian's testimony, see Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*, p. 48 ff.

[3] *Ep.* 76. In *Ep.* 70 there is a variation of the order of the clauses *in the forgiveness of sins* and *in the life everlasting.*

"*First*, that there is one God, who created and framed every thing, and who, when nothing was, brought all things into being, God from the first creation and forming of the world, the God of all the just—Adam, Abel, Seth . . . Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the twelve Patriarchs, Moses and the Prophets: and that this God in the last days, as He had before promised through His Prophets, sent our Lord Jesus Christ, to all Israel first, and then, after the unbelief of Israel, also to the Gentiles. This just and good God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Himself gave the Law and the Prophets and the Gospels, and He also is the God of the Apostles, and of the Old and New Testaments.

"Then, second, that Jesus Christ himself, who came, was born of the Father before all creation. And when, in the formation of all things, He had served the Father (for through Him all things were made), in these latest times, emptying himself, He became man and was incarnate while He was God, and though He became man remained the God He was. He took a body like our body, differing in this only that it was born of the Virgin and the Holy Spirit. And since this Jesus Christ was born and suffered in truth and not in make-believe, He bore the death common to all, and truly died; for He truly rose from the dead, and after His resurrection, having conversed with His disciples, He was taken up.

"Then, third, they also delivered that the Holy Spirit was associated in honour and dignity with the Father and the Son." [1]

Origen also includes in the preaching of the Apostles, resurrection and judgment to come, the freedom of the human will, the inspiration of the Scriptures, and the disclosure of their hidden sense by the Holy Spirit to the wise.[2]

It is clear that Origen, though he will not set forth consecutively the precise terms of the Creed of Alexandria, is giving a paraphrase and expansion of it, such as his pupil Gregory Thaumaturgus [3] (*c.* A.D. 270), Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea in Pontus, gives in more rhetorical fashion in a creed whose language points forward to, and anticipates, the so-called Athanasian Creed of the later Church.

[1] *De Principiis*, lib. i. præf. 4, 5. [2] *Ibid.* 5.

[3] Text of Gregory's Creed in Schaff, *Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches*, pp. 24, 25.

LUCIAN (*c.* A.D. 300),—ANTIOCH.

Lucian, the martyr, left behind him a still more elaborate creed, with scriptural and theological expansions.[1] It terminates with an anathema of all heretical false doctrine. It was submitted to the Synod of Antioch (A.D. 341), thirty years after his death, as a rival to the Nicene. It deserves to be quoted, not only as representing the Church of Antioch, but as illustrating the rise of a distinct type of Creed, the theological and polemic Creed, born in the age of the Arian controversy, and destined not for liturgical but for dogmatic use.

"We believe, in accordance with the Evangelic and Apostolic tradition, in one God the Father Almighty, the Maker and Provider of all things:

"And in one Lord Jesus Christ His Son, the only-begotten God, through whom all things were made, who was begotten of the Father before all ages, God of God, Whole of Whole, One of One, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord, the living Word, Wisdom, Life, True Light, Way, Truth, Resurrection, Shepherd, Door, unchangeable and unalterable, the immutable likeness of the Godhead, both of the substance and will and power and glory of the Father, the first-born of all creation, who was in the beginning with God, the Divine Logos, according to what is said in the Gospel: 'and the Word was God'—through whom all things were made and in whom 'all things consist': who in the last days came down from above and was born of a Virgin, according to the Scriptures, and became man, the Mediator between God and man, and the Apostle of our Faith, and the Prince of Life; as He says: 'I have come down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of Him that sent me'; who suffered for us; and rose for us the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and again is coming with glory and power to judge the living and the dead.

"And in the Holy Spirit given for consolation and sanctification and perfection to those who believe; as also our Lord Jesus Christ commanded His disciples, saying: 'Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the

[1] Text, *ibid.* pp. 25–28.

Holy Spirit' :—clearly of a Father who is really a father, and of a Son who is really a son, and of the Holy Spirit who is really a holy spirit, these names being assigned, not vaguely nor idly, but indicating accurately the special personality (*hypostasy*), order, and glory of those named, so that in personality they are three, but in harmony one.

"Having then this faith, having it both from the beginning and to the end, before God and Christ we anathematize all heretical false doctrine. And if any one, contrary to the right faith of the Scriptures, teaches and says that there either is or has been a period or time or age before the Son of God was begotten, let him be accursed (*anathema*). And if any one says that the Son is a creature as one of the creatures, or generated as one of the things generated, or made as one of the things made, and not as the Divine Scriptures have handed down each of the things aforesaid, or if any one teaches or preaches a gospel other than we have received, let him be accursed.

"For we truly and clearly both believe and follow all things from the Holy Scriptures that have been transmitted to us by the Prophets and Apostles."[1]

ARIUS (A.D. 328),—ALEXANDRIA.

After the condemnation of his views at Nicæa, A.D. 325, Arius drew up a personal creed, to be presented to the Emperor Constantine, with a view to his restoration. It carefully avoids the phraseology condemned, and is an interesting manifesto of the restless mind whose speculations precipitated the Conciliar Creeds.

"We believe in one God the Father Almighty :

"And in the Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, who was begotten of Him before all ages, the Divine Logos, through whom all things were made, both those in the heavens and those on the earth ; who came down and was made flesh, and suffered, and rose again, and ascended to the heavens, and shall come again to judge the living and the dead :

"And in the Holy Spirit ; and in the resurrection of the flesh ;

[1] Schaff, *Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches*, pp. 25–28, after an *Epistle of Athanasius*, and Socrates' *Eccles. Hist.*

and in the life of the world to come; and in a kingdom of heaven; and in one Catholic Church of God from the ends to the ends of the earth." [1]

EUSEBIUS (A.D. 325),—CÆSAREA.

A special interest and importance attaches to the Creed of Cæsarea, which Eusebius, its learned Bishop, the Historian, presented to the Council of Nicæa and the Emperor as the traditional faith of his Church and as his own. Accepted by the Council with additions, it passed into the Nicene Creed, and so into the universal faith of Eastern and Western Christendom. It runs as follows:

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible:

"And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only-begotten Son, first-born of all creation, begotten of God the Father before all worlds, through whom also all things were made; who for our salvation was made flesh, and lived his life among men; and suffered, and rose on the third day; and ascended to the Father; and will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead:

"And in one Holy Spirit.

"We believe that each of these is and exists, the Father truly father, and the Son truly son, and the Holy Spirit truly holy spirit; even as our Lord, when sending forth His disciples to preach, said: 'Go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.

"And concerning these things we affirm that we so hold and so think, and have of old so held, and will so hold till death, and stand steadfast in this faith, anathematizing all ungodly heresy. We testify before Almighty God and our Lord Jesus Christ that we have thought all this in heart and soul ever since we knew ourselves, and we now so think and speak in truth, being able to show by evidence and to convince you that we in past times so believed and preached accordingly." [2]

[1] Socrates, *op. cit.* i. 26; Schaff, *op. cit.* pp. 28, 29.
[2] Socrates, *op. cit.* i. 8; Schaff, *op. cit.* pp. 29, 30.

CYRIL (*c.* 350 A.D.),—JERUSALEM.

Cyril gives a description of the celebration of baptism in the Church of Jerusalem in his Catechetical Lecture XIX., and gives the Creed used as simply

"I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, and in one baptism of repentance."

Elsewhere in the Catechetical Lectures, VI.–XVIII., without quoting the Creed of his Church as a whole, he provides ample materials for its reconstruction. Like the Creed of Cæsarea, it approximates closely to the Nicene type, without the characteristic term *homoousion* applied to Christ. It was the basis of the Constantinopolitan Creed of A.D. 381 often confused with the Nicene. It seems to have run thus :

"We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, of all things both visible and invisible :

"And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, true God begotten of the Father before all ages, through whom all things came to be, who was made flesh and entered humanity (*ἐνανθρωπήσαντα*), crucified and buried, rose on the third day, and ascended into the heavens, and sat down on the right hand of the Father, and cometh in glory to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end :

"And in one Holy Spirit the Paraclete, who spake in the Prophets ; and in one baptism of repentance unto remission of sins ; and in one holy Catholic Church ; and in the resurrection of the flesh and in life everlasting." [1]

In this form nothing is said of the birth of Christ, or of Pontius Pilate, though both are referred to in the Constantinopolitan Creed.

EPIPHANIUS (A.D. 374),—PALESTINE AND CYPRUS.

Epiphanius, who, like Cyril, represents Palestinian tradition, concludes his work *Ancoratus*, an exposition of the Nicene Faith, with two creeds. The first is all but identical

[1] As restored by Hort, *Two Dissertations.*

with the Creed of Constantinople,[1] A.D. 381, and consists of Cyril's longer Creed of Jerusalem with expansions. The second is a wordy paraphrase of the original Creed of Nicæa.[2]

THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS (*c.* A.D. 350),—ANTIOCH.

A baptismal Creed resembling Cyril's is also found in the Apostolic Constitutions. It has been assigned to Antioch.

"I believe, and am baptized, in one unbegotten only true God Almighty, the Father of Christ, Creator and Artificer of all things, of whom are all things:

"And in the Lord Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son, the first-born of all creation, who was begotten before all ages by the good pleasure of the Father, through whom all things came to be, both things in the heavens and things on the earth, both visible and invisible; who in the last days came down from the heavens, and assumed flesh, and was begotten of the holy Virgin Mary, and led a holy life (πολιτευσάμενον ὁσίως) according to the laws of God His Father, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us, and rose again from the dead after He had suffered on the third day, and ascended into the heavens, and sat down at the right hand of the Father, and cometh again at the end of the world with glory, to judge the living and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end:

"I am baptized also in the Holy Spirit, that is the Paraclete, who worked in all the saints from everlasting, and later was sent forth into the Apostles from the Father according to the promise of our Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, and after the Apostles into all believers in the holy Catholic Church; in the resurrection of the flesh; and in the forgiveness of sins; and in the kingdom of heaven; and in the life of the world to come."[3]

From the foregoing survey of the Creeds in use throughout early Christendom, it appears that, till the period of the

[1] See below, p. 71.

[2] Texts in Schaff, *op. cit.* pp. 33–38. See also Hort, *op. cit.*, and Burn, *Introd. to Creeds*, p. 101 ff.

[3] Schaff, *op. cit.* p. 39.

dogmatic Councils, each great province of the Church was free to employ its own symbol, to add or to subtract clauses as experience suggested and Scripture taught. When the New Testament Canon was finally drawn up, there was as yet no precise Creed of more than local usage and authority. Each Church or group of Churches had its own traditional baptismal form, written or, more usually, unwritten, which its accredited teachers were at liberty to paraphrase or expand as they deemed fit, so long as they adhered to Scripture and to accepted doctrine. But, in spite of this elasticity of outward form, the creed of the Church was faithful to one essential scheme and type, which was deemed Apostolic and Scriptural. In the Western and the African Churches the type remained simple, historical, and practical. In the Churches of Asia and Egypt, in which speculation and eccentric opinions were rife, dogmatic expansions designed to rebuke and restrain free-thought found an early place, and in particular the Creeds of Cæsarea and Jerusalem, as we have observed, anticipated by some generations the forms adopted by the General Councils; but even these are merely modifications of the universal type setting forth faith in the Father Almighty, the Son whose life-work is epitomized, and the Holy Spirit with the Church and the religious experience and the hopes He inspires and sustains.

While the Œcumenical Councils, in their concern for disciplinary unity and theological uniformity, followed the course taken by the Eastern Creeds in their modification of the ancient type, the Western Church, dominated more and more by Rome, adhered to the simpler form whose authority in Rome and Carthage Tertullian attests at the end of the second century. It has indeed been seriously maintained by a high authority, Professor Kattenbusch, that the Roman Creed was the source of all the ancient forms, not only in the West and in Africa, but even in Antioch, which he regards as the true birthplace of the Creeds of Palestine and Egypt, which we find established in the great Churches of the fourth century. But the great

majority of scholars, including Sanday, Burn, Loofs, Zahn, and Kunze, with greater reason hold that East and West under the same impulse developed the Creed of the Church along parallel lines from the same materials existing in Scripture and tradition. There is no evidence, and little probability, that the great Patriarchates of the East ever had to borrow their Creed-forms from the metropolis of the West. Jealous of her authority and pretensions as they were, and possessed of a continuous tradition of their own from Apostolic times, they were not likely to be dependent at any stage upon outside help and dictation for the most sacred treasure of their faith. Even in the West, in Italy, Gaul, and elsewhere, it was only by the expedient of incorporating clauses which the local Churches carefully preserved and guarded, that the Roman Creed finally prevailed and became universal as the "Apostles' Creed" in its present form and contents.

In the latter half of the fourth century two writers quote the Roman Creed, Marcellus [1] of Ancyra in Galatia (*c.* A.D. 341), who sojourned in Rome as an exile, and adopted its Creed, and Rufinus [2] of Aquileia in Italy (*c.* A.D. 400), who compares it with that of his own Church, on which he writes an interesting commentary. These two forms, in Greek and in Latin, of which the Greek is probably the earlier, are a relic of the bilingual era of the Roman Church. They are as follows :

MARCELLUS.	RUFINUS.
I. 1. I believe in God Almighty :	I believe in God the Father Almighty :
II. 2. And in Christ Jesus, His only-begotten Son, our Lord ;	And in Christ Jesus, His only Son, our Lord ;
3. who was begotten of the Holy Spirit and of Mary the virgin,	who was born of (*de*) the Holy Spirit of (*ex*) Mary the virgin,
4. who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried,	crucified under Pontius Pilate, and buried ;
5. and on the third day rose again from the dead,	on the third day He rose again from the dead,

[1] Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxxii. 3.

[2] *Expositio Symb. Apostol.*

6. ascended into the heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father,	ascended into the heavens, sitteth at the right hand of the Father;
7. whence He cometh to judge the living and the dead:	thence He is to come to judge the living and the dead:
III. 8. And in the Holy Spirit,	And in the Holy Spirit,
9. the holy Church,	the holy Church,
10. the forgiveness of sins,	the forgiveness of sins,
11. the resurrection of the flesh,	the resurrection of the flesh.
12. the life everlasting.	

If one allows for the natural differences of language and idiom, one may say that the two forms are all but identical. Dr. Burn, using a somewhat perilous expedient, explains the omission by Marcellus of the words '*the Father*' in i. 1, and his addition of '*the life everlasting*' in iii. 12, by the assumption that the text of Epiphanius, containing the passage, is unreliable there as in other places. In ii. 2, '*only-begotten*' and '*only*' are more exactly equivalent than they appear, for *μονογενῆ* and *unicum* both mean '*unique*' or '*only*.'

A glance at these forms reveals how little change had still to be made in the fourth-century Roman Symbol, in order to give it its final form, and enable it to supersede all rivals in the Western half of the Christian world.

The Creed of Aquileia had the clauses '*invisible and impassible*' after '*Father Almighty*' (i. 1); '*He descended into Hell* (*in inferna*),' as in the Creeds of Syria and of the Danube, before the '*third day*' (ii. 5); and '*this flesh*' instead of '*the flesh*' in the last clause, as in Dacia. Of these additions, Rome took the second only, '*He descended into Hell*,' for permanent adoption into its Creed.

The Dacian Creed of Niceta of Remesiana at the same date as Rufinus contained the words '*Maker of heaven and earth*,' then familiar as in the Nicene Creed, corresponding to Tertullian's '*Maker of the World*' adopted later in Gallic creeds perhaps through the influence of Celtic missionaries, and by them brought to Rome; '*suffered*' before '*under Pontius Pilate*,' a word also included in the Creed of Augus-

tine and of the Church of Milan, and in later Gallic forms ; '*dead*' before '*and buried*,' as in Gallic forms ; '*Catholic*' before '*Church*,' and '*the communion of Saints*' after '*Church*,' as in Gallic forms and in the recently recovered "Faith of Jerome" ; and the '*life everlasting*' at the close, as in Cyprian and Augustine and the African Church, in Gaul, and in Irenæus and Marcellus.

The earliest quotation of the Apostles' Creed in its final form is in a treatise by Pirminius, the Benedictine missionary, founder of the Abbey of Reichenau in South Germany, entitled *Scarapsus* (*c.* A.D. 730). There is reason to believe that it had received its latest additions in Rome before that date. Certainly the common aim of Pope and Emperor during the eighth century to secure ecclesiastical uniformity promoted its universal acceptance in the West, wherever the Benedictine preachers and scholars brought it from Rome. True to its native instinct and its settled policy, Rome incorporated in its own Creed, which already existed in the middle of the second century, phrases and clauses which had commended themselves to the trusted leaders of affiliated churches, and which, while in harmony with Scripture, served to enrich the precious contents of its own sacred form of words. Unquestionably the growth from first to last was consistent. The original genius of the symbol was undisturbed throughout. Alike from the standpoint of Scripture and of common tradition, the work maintained its homogeneity. Such difficulties as the modern world finds barring the way to its acceptance are for the most part difficulties resident equally in Scripture and in Christian tradition. Perhaps we exaggerate greatly its non-contentious character. A minute historical study of many of its clauses, and even of its omissions, discloses the scars of many a theological conflict.[1] But to the common mind of Christendom it stands as, next to Holy Writ, the most venerable bond of unity and symbol of harmonious faith. Though its clauses, like the Scriptures from which they came, will never be accepted by all

[1] Cf. McGiffert, *The Apostles' Creed, with Critical Notes*, Edin. 1902, *passim*.

Christians in the same sense, the verities which they enshrine appeal to all. Short of the supreme confession of Simon Peter, which the Lord Himself accepted, no document exists which can rival it as the Creed of Creeds.

THE APOSTLES' CREED—FINAL FORM.

1. I believe in GOD the FATHER Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth :	Credo in DEUM PATREM omnipotentem, Creatorem cæli et terræ :	Πιστεύω εἰς ΘΕΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ, παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς·
2. and in JESUS CHRIST His only Son our Lord ;	et in JESUM CHRISTUM, Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum ;	καὶ εἰς ΙΗΣΟΥΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΝ, υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν
3. who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary ;	qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Uirgine ;	τὸν συλληφθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου,
4. suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried ; He descended into hell ;	passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus ; descendit ad inferna ;	παθόντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, σταυρωθέντα, θανόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, κατελθόντα εἰς τὰ κατώτατα,
5. the third day He rose from the dead ;	tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;	τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν,
6. He ascended into heaven; and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty ;	ascendit ad cælos ; sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis ;	ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, καθεζόμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς παντοδυνάμου,
7. from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead :	inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos ;	κεῖθεν ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·
8. I believe in the HOLY GHOST ;	credo in SPIRITUM SANCTUM ;	πιστεύω εἰς ΤΟ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΤΟ ἌΓΙΟΝ,
9. the holy catholic Church; the communion of saints ;	sanctam ecclesiam catholicam ; sanctorum communionem ;	ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἁγίων κοινωνίαν,
10. the forgiveness of sins ;	remissionem peccatorum ;	ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν,
11. the resurrection of the body ;	carnis resurrectionem;	σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν,
12. and the life everlasting.	uitam æternam.	ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

III. THE CREEDS OF THE ŒCUMENICAL COUNCILS, NICENE, CONSTANTINOPOLITAN, CHALCEDONIAN.

1. THE CREED OF NICÆA, A.D. 325.

In the Eastern Church the Roman or Apostles' Creed has never been recognized as the norm of doctrine. Even in the third century its Oriental parallels, as was seen above, reflected the less practical and more speculative character of the peoples professing them by expanding theologically certain portions of the traditional scheme, so as to preclude current heresies. Though Rome and its half of Christendom passed through periods of acute doctrinal controversy, which left some traces on its faith, its very conservatism in its triumph retained the old type of Creed unaltered in all essentials. It had no responsibility and little share in the violent struggles which led to the great councils of the East, whose formulations it accepted loyally, though with a certain reservation of liberty which was in time to be exercised with very serious consequences. The protagonists in the Arian conflict were Greek-speaking theologians, mainly from the speculative schools of Alexandria and Cæsarea. Of the bishops who assembled at the imperial summons, the vast majority were from Eastern sees. In the East, with its exuberant fancy and its unresting imagination, it was not enough to cherish a creed which left so many questions open, so many speculations unrestrained, as the simple traditional symbols of the patriarchal Church. For theological and for liturgical purposes, it was felt under stress of the distraction and scandal of the Arian controversy, a revision even of the fullest and most effective of the local forms in use was urgently required. Experience had proved that just as every school of thought invoked the Scriptures as its warrant and foundation, every eccentric and heretical thinker could profess the ancient forms of the Apostles' Creed without a qualm, and claim to have his heritage in the right-thinking Church. So soon as Constantine

embraced the Christian religion, and the restraints of persecution were withdrawn, the growing differences in Christian opinion issued swiftly in a conflict of sects so fierce and deadly as to demand the intervention of the Emperor himself. If Constantine had any theological preferences of his own, they were not unfavourable to Arius. But his great aim was the peace and unity of his empire, and the good name of the new faith which he had espoused; and in his eyes the doctrine which commended itself to the mass of Christians was the only true faith, whether in the event it proved to be Arian or Athanasian. Christendom had succeeded in agreeing at length upon a Canon of Scripture, though some of the books included had narrowly escaped rejection. By the help of that Canon, which Constantine assiduously published in standard copies of the sacred text, and with its example before it as an object-lesson in compromise and harmony, the Church must proceed by a General Council to determine its future Rule of Faith. Unanimity there was to be, if not in the Council, certainly after it: nonconforming bishops would be deposed: the majority opinion would thenceforward constitute orthodoxy: at a Council solemnly convened by imperial authority, and still more solemnly constituted by invocation of the Holy Spirit, Truth would surely be found on the side of the many, the voice of the majority would be the voice of God.

In these ideas, Constantine, himself incapable of pronouncing judgment upon the points at issue, was simply with a statesman's instinct adopting the convenient but perilous principle that faith and doctrine are fit matters for legislation, that religious Truth not only may be discovered after debate by counting and comparing the votes of a duly representative body of churchmen met in council, but may be thrust by authority upon the human intellect. Under his auspices, well-intentioned but essentially pagan, coercion entered the Christian Church, and invaded in the name of Christ the very shrine of Christian liberty of conscience. Under his auspices an

exaggerated awe and authority attached themselves to the findings of so-called Œcumenical Assemblies, the occasions not seldom of disgraceful tumult and faction, of arrogant presumption, of gross uncharitableness. It was after the second Œcumenical Council that Bishop Gregory of Nazianzus declared: "I flee from every assembly of bishops, for I have never seen that a Synod has come to a good end, or that the evils of the Church have been removed instead of being increased; for indescribable quarrelling and rivalry reign there." We do well to pause ere we commit ourselves to an unqualified surrender to the dogmatic and controversial utterances of the Councils of the fourth century, remembering the words of Bishop Westcott, no rash or narrow partizan: "I should think there was no corruption in either doctrine or practice, —or I may add in text,—of which the roots cannot be found somewhere in the fourth century. Yet people talk with unction about the Saints of the fourth century! I am afraid that if they read their history, they would find that they were very ordinary men." [1] We may rightly honour the churchmen who carried on their bodies the scars and mutilations left by pagan persecution when they obeyed the summons of the Roman Emperor and assembled at Nicæa, but we need not forget that it takes more than persecution-scars and Christian courage and constancy to make a theologian and a master in the letter and spirit of Holy Writ. There was too often spiritual defeat and humiliation under the outward victory of a party in the Church. An ostentatious unanimity gained by threats of deposition or dishonour might impress the masses whose faith was wholly dependent on authority, and who could not find their way into the fold save in the middle of the jostling flock; but thoughtful men remembered the differences of opinion and the doubtful Scriptures which lay behind the decrees, and many Christian leaders who had little sympathy with Arius deprecated with good reason the thrusting of unscriptural phraseology into the sacred

[1] *Contemp. Rev.*, Dec. 1903.

clauses of the Apostolic Faith, which were to be binding upon the universal Christian conscience. Till the era of the imperial Councils, the Rule of Faith had contained no negative clauses, was the exultant grateful utterance of positive conviction. As Dr. Burn well says: "Many formularies of this creed-making epoch added to the contents of the historic faith mere negations, closing misleading avenues of thought without aiding faith's advance. The first Nicene Creed, with its anathemas, is a typical instance."

The Nicene Creed was the first symbol of faith framed by a Council, enforced by the secular power, purely controversial in origin, theological as distinct from Scriptural in its peculiar terms, and furnished with a concluding anathema, a lash on the whip of discipline. It was the work of the Council of three hundred and eighteen bishops convened by Constantine at Nicæa, A.D. 325. The Emperor presided in person. The delegates, who travelled by the imperial command at public expense, were all from Eastern Churches except Hosius of Cordova, who had been sent by the Emperor to Alexandria on a preliminary mission to investigate into the disturbance which had arisen in connexion with the Synodal deposition of Arius and his associates. After the rejection of a creed submitted by the Arian party, which set forth their Christology in terms which fell short of eternally-begotten divine Sonship and oneness in essence with the Father, the venerable Eusebius of Cæsarea who led the mediating party in the Council brought forward the Creed of his Church as he had learned and taught it. The Creed of Cæsarea was accepted as the basis of the new formula, and with the distinctive additions of the Council regarding the person and dignity of Christ and the concluding anathema it passed out into the world as the Nicene Creed. The precise relations of the Nicene Creed to the Creeds of Cæsarea, Jerusalem, and Constantinople are best shown by means of a reprint of their terms in parallel columns (see pp. 70, 71).

The concluding anathema, which was carefully framed

to make Arian evasion of the doctrinal issue impossible, and expressly condemned the characteristic watchwords of Arian theology, had two confessional precedents, the closing sentences of Lucian's posthumous Creed at Antioch and of Eusebius' form of the Creed of Cæsarea ;[1] but it is doubtful if either was more than the personal declaration of a teaching bishop ; neither claims to be voicing the mind of the universal Church, and whereas Lucian declares Arians anathema, Eusebius uses no such language against the Sabellians whose confusion of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit he desires to set aside, content merely to say, without even naming the heretics he has in mind, " We believe that each of these is and exists, the Father truly father, the Son truly son, and the Holy Spirit truly holy spirit." In subsequent revisions of the Nicene Creed, both for theological and liturgical use, the anathema was omitted, either because it was felt to be an incongruous element in the symbol of catholic faith, or because it was implicit in the body of the symbol, or because it had done its work, and Arianism had received its death-blow.

2. THE CREED OF CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 381.

The Nicene Creed was not destined to be a final utterance. Arianism reasserted itself in subsequent Councils with fluctuating success, for Councils necessarily varied in complexion and composition with the varying place and time of their meeting. At Antioch a Council, which met in A.D. 341 for the dedication of Constantine's Church, ratified Lucian's pre-Nicene Creed[2] without reinforcing its elaborately Scriptural phraseology with the Nicene terms regarding the person of Christ. At Alexandria a Synod which met in A.D. 362, soon after the death of Constantius, returned to the Nicene Creed under Athanasius' influence, distinguishing for the relief of doubters two uses of the word *hypostasis*, as *substance* or as *subsistence* ; in the latter sense alone could three hypostases exist in the Godhead. Many

[1] See above, pp. 55–57.

[2] See above, pp. 55, 56.

	Creed of Eusebius, Cæsarea, A.D. 325.	Creed of Nicæa, A.D. 325.
	We believe	We believe
I. 1.	In one God the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible:	In one God the Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible:
II. 2.	And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, only-begotten Son, first-born of all creation, before all worlds begotten of God the Father, through whom all things were made;	And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only-begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father, through whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those on earth;
	3. who for our salvation was made flesh and lived his life (*πολιτευσάμενον*) among men,	who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, entered humanity (*ἐνανθρωπήσαντα*)
	4. and suffered,	and suffered,
	5. and rose the third day,	and rose the third day,
	6. and ascended to the Father,	ascended into heaven,
	7. and shall come again in glory to judge the living and the dead:	is coming to judge the living and the dead:
III.	8. And we believe in one Holy Spirit.	And in the Holy Spirit.
	9.	
	10.	
	11.	
	12.	But as for those who say that there was a time when He was not, and that before He was begotten He was not, and that He came into being from things that were not, or who affirm that the Son of God is of a different subsistence or essence, or created, subject to change or alteration, them the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.

Creed of Jerusalem, A.D. 348.	Creed of Constantinople, A.D. 381.	
	(*Later Western clauses in brackets.*)	
We believe	We believe	
In one God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, of all things visible and invisible:	In one God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible:	I. 1.
And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of His Father	And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of His Father before all worlds, [God of God], Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father, through whom all things were made;	II. 2.
true God before all worlds, through whom all things were made;		
who	who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven and was made flesh of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, and entered humanity;	3.
was made flesh and entered humanity,		
crucified	and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered, and was buried,	4.
and buried,		
rose again the third day,	and rose again the third day, according to the Scriptures,	5.
and ascended into heaven, and sat down on the right hand of the Father,	and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father,	6.
and shall come in glory to judge the living and the dead, whose kingdom shall have no end:	and shall come again with glory to judge the living and the dead, whose kingdom shall have no end:	7.
And in one Holy Spirit, the Paraclete,	And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father [and the Son], who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, who spake through the Prophets;	III. 8.
who spake in the Prophets;		
and in one baptism of repentance unto remission of sins;	in the catholic and apostolic Church.	9.
and in one holy catholic Church;	We acknowledge one baptism unto remission of sins.	10.
and in the resurrection of the flesh;	We look for the resurrection of the dead;	11.
and in the life everlasting.	and the life of the world to come.	12.

local Creeds were amplified by terms derived from Nicæa. The Creed of Jerusalem, in particular, was thus revised by Cyril, and is quoted in A.D. 374 in the new form, as the Creed of his diocese, by Epiphanius of Salamis in Cyprus, who was a native of Palestine and had maintained relations with its Churches. That the additions to the Creed of Jerusalem were made by Cyril is obvious from a perusal of the language of his Catechetical Lectures, in which he prefers *resurrection of the dead* to *resurrection of the flesh*, *He sitteth at the right hand* to *He sat down at the right hand*, and *with glory* to *in glory*.[1] This revised Creed of Jerusalem, associated peculiarly with Cyril, became the so-called Creed of Constantinople, the Creed of the one hundred and fifty Fathers of that Council,and indeed passed into currency throughout Eastern and Western Christendom as the standard or authorized version of the Nicene Faith. How this came about is a question still involved in uncertainties, for the Acts of the Council of A.D. 381 have been lost ; but the fact is beyond doubt, and is attested by the minutes of the later Council of A.D. 451. It appears that, at the Council of A.D. 381 which Theodosius convened at Constantinople, the orthodoxy of Cyril which had been challenged was vindicated not only by the appointment of Meletius his friend and sympathizer as president of the assembly, but by the *acceptance* of the expanded Creed of Jerusalem which he presumably submitted in proof of his loyalty to Nicene dogma. His harmony of the Nicene Creed with that of his own Church became known and was treasured, especially in Constantinople, as the Creed of the Council which sanctioned without having composed it. The controversial character and the literary form of the Nicene statement were obviously improved upon, and a fuller statement of Apostolic faith secured by it. At the Council of A.D. 451 at Chalcedon it was read by Aetius, Archdeacon of Constantinople, as "the holy faith which the one hundred and fifty holy Fathers set forth in harmony with the holy and great Synod at Nicæa." At the Council of A.D. 535 in Constantinople it was affirmed

[1] See Burn, *Introd. to Creeds*, p. 102 ff. See also table above, p. 71.

that the Council of A.D. 381 had approved the Symbol of A.D. 325. At the Council of A.D. 553 the two forms were finally identified, the later being viewed merely as a revision of the earlier. Thus, singularly, it came about that the ultimate standard of Catholic orthodoxy throughout Christendom emanated from Jerusalem, the birth-place and earliest home of the Christian Church,—though no document was ever more amazingly shadowed by confusion in its designations. If the Roman Symbol in order to receive the homage of the Western Churches as the Apostles' Creed had to receive and incorporate the distinctive clauses of other local forms, the Symbol of Jerusalem had not only to undergo revision in harmony with the formula of Nicæa and to incorporate details from other outside sources, but also to part with its native title and borrow the styles of Nicæa and Constantinople in order to win the homage of the universal Church.

Comparison of the Nicene and Constantinopolitan forms discloses the following facts. The Constantinopolitan omits the terminal anathema of the Nicene, and three clauses in Article 2 which are redundant, viz. *of the substance of the Father*, and *God of God*, and *both those in heaven and those on earth*. The Constantinopolitan adds all that follows the words *In the Holy Ghost*, without which the Nicene Creed is ill-proportioned, defective, and ill-suited for the liturgical use which was made of it as early as the fifth century in Antioch, Alexandria, and elsewhere, and also, with the Creed of Epiphanius, the words *of heaven and earth* in Art. 1, *before all worlds* in 2, *from heaven* and *of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary* in 3, *and was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate . . . and was buried* in 4, *according to the Scriptures* in 5, *and sitteth on the right hand of the Father* in 6, *with glory* (for *in glory*), and *whose kingdom shall have no end* in 7.

In the Western Church, Roman Catholic and Reformed, the Constantinopolitan Creed was expressed in the singular *I believe*, and differed further from the Eastern form by retaining in Art. 2 the Nicene words *God of God*, redundant though they are, and by adding the memorable words *and the Son* of the procession of the Holy Spirit,

which received sanction from the Council of Toledo, A.D. 589, though the doctrine was taught earlier in the West. In the eighth century the *filioque* addition was challenged by the Greeks, and Leo III. omitted it from the Creed. In the ninth century its final establishment in the Western Creed contributed powerfully to the Great Schism. As Luther altered the word *Catholic* into *Christian* in the Apostles' Creed, so the Lutheran Church reads *Christian* instead of Catholic in its authorized form of the longer Creed.

The Greek and Latin Texts of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed.

(*Words in round brackets added, words in square brackets omitted, in the form of Constantinople; later Latin additions in black type.*)

I. 1. Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν (οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς,) ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων·	Credo in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem; factorem (cæli et terræ,) uisibilium omnium et inuisibilium:
II. 2. Καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα (πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων), [τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός,] [Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ,] φῶς ἐκ φῶτος, Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί· δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, [τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ,]	Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum, et ex Patre natum (ante omnia sæcula) **Deum de Deo,** Lumen de Lumine, Deum uerum de Deo uero, genitum, non factum, consubstantialem Patri; per quem omnia facta sunt;
3. τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα (ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν,) καὶ σαρκωθέντα (ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, καὶ) ἐνανθρωπήσαντα,	qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit (de caelis), et incarnatus est (de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria uirgine, et) homo factus est;

4. (σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ) παθόντα (καὶ ταφέντα,)
5. καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ (κατὰ τὰς γραφάς,
6. καὶ) ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, (καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρός,
7. καὶ πάλιν) ἐρχόμενον (μετὰ δόξης) κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· (οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος)·

(crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato,) passus (et sepultus) est;
et resurrexit tertia die (secundum Scripturas;
et) ascendit in cælum, (sedet ad dexteram Patris;
et iterum) uenturus est (cum gloria) iudicare uiuos et mortuos; (cuius regni non erit finis):

III. 8. Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον (τὸ κύριον καὶ τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ συν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συνπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν·

Et in Spiritum Sanctum (Dominum et uiuificantem, qui ex Patre **Filioque** procedit; qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur; qui locutus est per Prophetas;

9. εἰς μίαν, ἁγίαν, καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν·

Et unam, sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam.

10. ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν·

Confiteor unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum;

11. προσδοκοῦμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν,

et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum,

12. καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος).

et uitam uenturi sæculi).

[Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ὅτι ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστόν, τρεπτὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία.]

3. THE CREED, OR DECREE, OF CHALCEDON, A.D. 451.

In succession to Gnostic, Sabellian, Arian, and Apollinarian heresy, the opposed opinions of Nestorius, who had already been condemned at Ephesus, A.D. 431, and Eutyches were the occasion of the fourth General Council, which met at Chalcedon, A.D. 451, at the summons of Theodosius II. Nestorius and Eutyches had been dignitaries of the Church of Constantinople, the former Patriarch, the latter Archimandrite. Like Apollinaris of Laodicea, they raised Christological problems not foreclosed by the conciliar decisions against Gnostic, Sabellian, and Arian doctrine,—problems relating not to the eternal but to the incarnate life and personality of the Saviour of Men. Apollinaris denied to the Word made Flesh a rational human soul, holding that He merely assumed a human body and animal soul (ψυχὴ ἄλογος). Nestorius objected, not unnaturally, to the unscriptural title, *Mother of God* (θεοτόκος), applied to the Mother of the Lord by those who vigorously pressed to its literal consequences the Nicene doctrine, and he sought relief in the doctrine of the separateness of the Divine and human natures associated in Christ's person. Eutyches held that the human nature was absorbed in the Divine, so that it could be said, "God is born," "God suffered," "God died." The lines of orthodox doctrine had been traced by Pope Leo I., the Great, A.D. 448, in his letter to Flavianus, the Patriarch of Constantinople, on "the Incarnation of the Word," and these were followed closely at Chalcedon. The Chalcedonian Symbol is preceded by a reaffirmation of the Creeds of the three hundred and eighteen and one hundred and fifty holy Fathers, which would have sufficed but for the emergence of the new errors of Apollinaris, Nestorius, and Eutyches, and is followed by a solemn anathema against any other creed for the use of converts. It runs as follows:

1. We then following the Holy Fathers all with one consent teach men to confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in godhead and also perfect in manhood ;

Sequentes igitur sanctos patres, unum eundemque confiteri Filium et Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum consonanter omnes docemus, eundem perfectum in deitate et eundem perfectum in humanitate ;

Ἑπόμενοι τοίνυν τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσιν ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖν Υἱὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν συμφώνως ἅπαντες ἐκδιδάσκομεν, τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι,

2. true God and at the same time truly man of a reasonable soul and body ;

Deum uerum et hominem uerum eundem ex anima rationali et corpore ;

Θεὸν ἀληθῶς τὸν αὐτόν, ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος,

3. consubstantial with the Father according to His godhead, and consubstantial with us according to His manhood, in all things like unto us apart from sin ;

consubstantialem Patri secundum deitatem, consubstantialem nobis eundem secundum humanitatem, per omnia nobis similem, absque peccato ;

ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ ὁμοούσιον τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον ἡμῖν χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας·

4. begotten both before all worlds of the Father according to His godhead, and also in these latter days, on account of us and our salvation, of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, according to His manhood ;

ante sæcula quidem de Patre genitum secundum deitatem ; in nouissimis autem diebus eundem propter nos et propter nostram salutem ex Maria uirgine, Dei genetrice secundum humanitatem ;

πρὸ αἰώνων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν αὐτὸν δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου τῆς θεοτόκου κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα,

5. one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, only-begotten, to be acknowledged in two natures without confusion, change, division, separation ;

unum eundemque Christum, Filium, Dominum, unigenitum, in duabus naturis inconfuse, immutabiliter, indiuise, inseparabiliter agnoscendum ;

ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Χριστόν, Υἱόν, Κύριον, μονογενῆ, ἐκ δύο φύσεων, ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως γνωριζόμενον·

6. the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved and concurring in one person and one substance, not parted or divided into two per-

nusquam sublata differentia naturarum propter unitionem magisque salua proprietate utriusque naturæ, et in unam personam atque subsistentiam concurrente, non in duas personas partitum aut diuisum, sed unum eundemque Filium et uni-

οὐδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνῃρημένης διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, σωζομένης δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἰδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης, οὐκ εἰς δύο πρόσωπα μεριζόμενον ἢ διαιρούμενον, ἀλλ' ἕνα

sons but one and the same Son, and only-begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ;	genitum, Deum Uerbum, Dominum Iesum Christum;	καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Υἱὸν καὶ μονογενῆ, Θεὸν Λόγον, Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστον·
7. according as the Prophets from the beginning have spoken concerning Him, and the Lord Jesus Christ Himself has taught us, and the creed of the holy Fathers has handed down to us.	sicut ante Prophetæ de eo et ipse nos Iesus Christus erudituit et patrum nobis symbolum tradidit.	καθάπερ ἄνωθεν οἱ Προφῆται περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐξεπαίδευσε καὶ τὸ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῖν καραδέδωκε σύμβολον.

Paragraph 2 is particularly directed against Apollinaris, paragraph 4 against Nestorius, and paragraph 5 against Eutyches. In paragraph 3 it is remarkable that consubstantiality is the term used to link Christ not only with the Father, in respect of divinity, but also with mankind, in respect of humanity.

IV. THE *GLORIA IN EXCELSIS* AND *TE DEUM*.

In the public worship of the Church the expanding Apostolic Faith expressed itself not only in the expanding forms of the Apostles' Creed, but in parallel forms of praise. To the brief formula of baptism corresponded the simple *Gloria*:

"Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;
As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen."

By the fourth century the fuller *Gloria in Excelsis* was familiar in varying forms as a Greek Hymn:

Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill among men.
We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee.
We give thee thanks because of thy great glory.
O Lord, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty,
O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ,
And Holy Spirit.

O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father,
O thou who takest away the sins of the world,
Have mercy upon us :—
O thou who takest away the sins of the world,
Have mercy upon us.
Receive our prayer,
O thou who sittest at the right hand of the Father,
Have mercy upon us.
For thou art alone holy,
Thou art alone Lord,
Jesus Christ,
To the glory of God the Father.[1]

The *Te Deum* is a free paraphrase and adaptation of the Apostles' Creed, composed or pieced together from Greek and Latin liturgical materials, *the Gloria in Excelsis* principally, with lines from the Psalter, *e.g.* Ps. xxviii. 9, cxlv. 2, cxxiii. 3, xxxiii. 22, xxxi. 1, probably in the fourth century. Of authorship it is scarcely possible to speak in regard to a compilation of the kind, and tradition was silent till the ninth century. Thereafter it was ascribed to Ambrose of Milan assisted by Augustine on the day of his baptism, or to Hilary of Poitiers, or, as by Irish tradition in the tenth century, to Niceta of Remesiana in Dacia, a contemporary of Ambrose.

The third view has much to be said in its favour. All that we know of Niceta and his work harmonizes with the slender tradition in his favour. Dom. G. Morin and Dr. A. E. Burn, two eminent authorities, are satisfied that he was most probably the composer, and certainly it is hard to explain the lateness of the tradition in support of Ambrose or Hilary, if a churchman so well known as either was the real author. "We assume," says Dr. Burn, "that Niceta sent or brought it to Italy, possibly in time to be sung by S. Ambrose and S. Augustine in 386, or in the last decade of the century. It may have been passed on by Paulinus to his friends at Lerins. From Lerins it came into the possession of the Celtic Church

[1] From the text in *Codex Alexandrinus*, cent. v.

in Ireland, possibly through S. Patrick." [1] But it is not possible to claim anything like certainty for the tradition. At the beginning of the sixth century the Hymn was familiar and well established. With the Apostles' Creed it has held an assured place from that time in the reverence and affection of the Christian world as a noble Song of Faith voicing the praise of the Universal Church. In his writing on *The Three Symbols or Confessions of the Faith of Christ* Luther reckons it as third to the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and speaks of it as, whether sung or not by Ambrose and Augustine after the latter's baptism, "a fine symbol or confession, to whomsoever it may belong, composed in song-form, not only to confess the right faith, but also to praise and thank God withal."

The received Latin text, and the accepted English version, are as follows:

Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur.	We praise thee, O God, we acknowledge thee to be the Lord.
Te æternum Patrem omnis terra ueneratur.	All the earth doth worship thee, the Father everlasting.[2]
Tibi omnes Angeli, tibi cæli et uniuersæ potestates,	To thee all Angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein,
Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim incessabili uoce proclamant:	To thee Cherubim and Seraphim continually do cry:
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth:	Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth:
Pleni sunt cæli et terræ maiestatis gloriæ tuæ.	Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of thy glory.
Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus,	The glorious company of the Apostles praise thee:
Te Prophetarum laudabilis numerus,	The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise thee:
Te Martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus,	The noble [3] army of Martyrs praise thee:
Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur Ecclesia,	The holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge thee:

[1] *Introd. to Creeds*, p. 275.

[2] Lit. "We praise thee as God, we confess thee Lord. All the earth doth worship thee as Father everlasting."

[3] Lit. "white-robed."

Patrem immensæ maiestatis :	The Father of an infinite majesty :
Uenerandum tuum uerum unicum Filium :	Thine honourable, true, and only Son :
Sanctum quoque Paraclytum Spiritum.	Also the Holy Ghost, the Comforter.
Tu rex gloriæ, Christe.	Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ.
Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius :	Thou art the Everlasting Son of the Father.
Tu ad liberandum suscepisti hominem non horruisti uirginis uterum :	When thou tookest upon thee to deliver man, Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb.
Tu deuicto mortis aculeo aperuisti credentibus regna cœlorum :	When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers.
Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes in gloria Patris :	Thou sittest at the right hand of God in the glory of the Father.
Iudex crederis esse uenturus :	We believe that thou shalt come to be our judge.
Te ergo quæsumus tuis famulis subueni quos pretioso sanguine redemisti :	We therefore pray thee help thy servants, whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood.
Æterna fac cum sanctis tuis gloria munerari :	Make them to be numbered with thy saints in glory everlasting.[1]
Saluum fac populum tuum, Domine, et benedic hereditati tuæ,	O Lord, save thy people, and bless thine heritage.
Et rege eos, et extolle illos usque in æternum.	Govern them, and lift them up for ever.
Per singulos dies benedicimus te,	Day by day we magnify thee,
Et laudamus nomen tuum in sæculum et in sæculum sæculi.	And we worship thy name ever, world without end.
Dignare, Domine, die isto, sine peccato nos custodire.	Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin.
Miserere nostri, Domine, miserere nostri.	O Lord, have mercy upon us : have mercy upon us.
Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super nos, quemadmodum sperauimus in te.	O Lord, let thy mercy lighten upon us, as our trust is in thee.
In te, Domine, speraui : non confundar in æternum.	O Lord, in thee have I trusted : let me never be confounded.

[1] Should be rendered : "Make them with thy saints to be rewarded with glory everlasting." *Numerari* has no MS. authority.

V. THE *QUICUNQUE VULT*, OR "ATHANASIAN CREED."

In the series of Catholic Creeds the *Quicunque Vult* occupies a place of its own and exhibits a character of its own. It is by far the longest. Its reception into general use came latest, and its retention has been most precarious, a fact which throws doubt upon its fitness to serve as a universal symbol. The Roman Church, in whose office of Prime it found a place, uses it on Sundays only, and these mainly in Lent and Advent. The Greek Church gives it no place in its service, and is content to place it, of course with the obnoxious words *and from the Son* omitted, in an appendix to the *Horologion*, as orthodox in teaching and helpful for private use. The Anglican Church, outside Ireland and America where it has been set aside, has maintained it, with some difficulty and not without misgiving and controversy, in use at Morning Prayer on the great Festivals. The Lutheran Church gave it a place in the *Book of Concord* beside the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, in harmony with Luther's opinion, who doubted whether since New Testament times anything more "weighty and glorious" had ever been written.

Its authorship and date have been matters of protracted discussion. The title, *Athanasian Creed*, which came to be assigned to it two centuries or so after its composition, points simply to its orthodox character and phraseology; *Augustinian Creed* would be equally applicable to it as a designation. The masterly work of Waterland, *A Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, 1723, remained for a century and a half the standard. It assigned the Creed to the period of Apollinarian controversy in the West, before the Nestorian heresy was condemned in 431, and to Hilary of Arles as the probable author. The Anglican debates in 1870 on the use of the Creed stimulated investigation of its text and history. Dr. Swainson, and Dr. Lumby, his successor in the Norrisian chair of Divinity in Cambridge, regarded the ninth century as the date of its completion, holding that its two portions,

which deal with Trinitarian and with Christological faith respectively, had previously existed apart. Harnack accepted their view with some modifications. Ommanney collected fresh evidence which made the *two-portion* theory difficult to credit, proving the earlier existence and recognition of the complete creeds, and urging the view that Vincentius, who, like Hilary, belonged to the gifted brotherhood of Lerins, was the author. The indefatigable labours of Dom. Morin and Dr. Burn, who have searched the literature and texts of the period, have given its death-blow to the *two-portion* theory, and have promoted a return to something like Waterland's position. The earliest known MS. of the creed at Milan belongs to the first half of the eighth century, but the lengthy quotation of the symbol by the Council of Toledo, A.D. 633, and its use as a manual of instruction by Cæsarius of Arles (A.D. 503–543), whom Morin regards as its author, carry it back to the fifth century. Burn, accordingly, who hazards the conjecture that Honoratus, the first Abbot of Lerins, composed it, suggests A.D. 420–430 as the decade in which it was first written, and regards it as directed against the Sabellian and Apollinarian terms in which the Spanish martyr Priscillian set forth his conception of the orthodox faith. Kattenbusch puts it ten years earlier still, and Künstle thinks it was composed in Spain, and brought early to Lerins. But Burn and Kattenbusch probably go too far, and make too much of the absence of precise traces of Nestorian controversy in the Creed as a ground for dating it earlier than A.D. 431, when Nestorius was condemned; for, after all, the author of the Creed had only Western conditions and local needs in view, and had set himself to compose not an Œcumenical Creed, but a private summary, and in any case there is little room for Nestorian views in the interstices of his doctrine. A date between Morin's and Burn's seems in the present state of our knowedge to be the safest to suggest, allowing a longer interval to elapse after Augustine's *De Trinitate* was published. It would thus appear that it dates from about the middle of the fifth century

and was written in France, probably by some member of the school of Lerins, and that its earliest currency and authority were in France and Spain. Its two portions, both obviously composed in Latin from the first, reflect Western European conceptions of the faith in the Trinity set forth by Augustine, and of the faith in Christ set forth by Athanasius; but it is no slavish compilation of their terms, for it uses the word *substance* which Augustine expressly condemned,[1] preferring as he did *essence* in reference to the Divine being, and using *substance* as equivalent to *hypostasis* or *persona*. Its use of these technical terms of recent controversy corresponds closely to that of Hilary of Poitiers. At first it was valued simply as a safe and useful epitome of orthodox faith, and used as a help in teaching and preaching. If it was composed by one man, his name from the first was ignored, and contributed nothing to its authority or distinction. Then from the eighth century it was often recited in church : commentaries were written on it : addresses were delivered on it ; and it became a canticle, or a processional hymn. By its minute and measured orthodoxy it effected a harmony of the accepted Creeds, at least with reference to the three Persons in the Godhead individually and in their mutual relations, and did so with such acceptance that, like the Chalcedonian Decree and the *Te Deum*, it passed into the Western treasury of faith gradually and without a challenge.

As the Constantinopolitan Creed harmonized the Nicene and Apostles' Creed for purposes of worship, so in turn the *Quicunque Vult* gave the Church a harmony, in the language of Athanasius and Augustine and Hilary, of Trinitarian and Christological orthodoxy, inclusive of the substance of those new elements of dogma which the Apollinarian and Eutychian controversies precipitated, and which, in the language not of devotion, but of prosaic and polemic definition, the Decree of Chalcedon in its laboured and heavy-laden clauses finally fixed. The Constantinopolitan Creed gave form and proportion and

[1] *De Trinitate*, vii. 5, 1 : " In Deo substantia proprie non dicitur."

devotional feeling to the Nicene Formula, and made it a true Creed as well as a criterion of orthodoxy. In the *Quicunque Vult* the Western Church found, or thought it had found, a symbol which in all permanent essentials did the same work for the Constantinopolitan Creed when it in turn was burdened with the hopelessly unlyric and undevotional appendix of Chalcedon. The task of the last harmonizer was perhaps too great for the poet that at heart he was. The Creed he has given us is not only marred by its dogmatic preface and conclusion, which presume to circumscribe the conditions of salvation, the work and sole prerogative of God, but, even after making all allowance for a gorgeous liturgical setting, and the licence it permits to the rhetoric of confession, one is constrained to lament that its definitions and analogies hobble and limp in the procession of its stately sentences of faith, its repetitions and reiterations tax the patience of ear and mind. It constitutes an impressive reminder and warning that, in the introspection and analysis of faith, a stage may be reached when thought becomes so overloaded with detail as to be powerless to soar into song, and that the strains of exultant controversial victory may prove ill-suited to express the abiding convictions and the settled thought of Christian reflection. It was born in a pathetic period of European and of Christian history, in a time of alarums and suspicions and enmities and uncertainties, both in Church and State throughout the Empire, in a time when dogmatic strength and even arrogance was the strongest recommendation that a formula of faith could have, and when an open mind as to the possible salvation of men of other views was the surest discrediting of one's own. As Dr. Burn well says, voicing an impression left on many minds, "it sometimes offends one's sense of reverence to hear this solemn statement of the mysteries of our faith chanted too sonorously by a choir, or gabbled by Sunday-school children; its solemn warnings need to be received rather with silent awe than either recited or sung in a jubilant tone." But it is rather the creed than the choir

that is wrong. A true creed is a pæan of faith, and it cannot but be sung sonorously. In great part it deserves the encomiums of Hooker, Waterland, and Benson. Its reputation and its usage presuppose real merits which it were idle to disparage. But, like its contemporary, the Creed of Chalcedon, it savours of mysteries profaned, of dogma run riot, of overweening arrogance, and of the pedantic withal. And it recalls, a little wistfully, in extenuation as well as in censure, what Hilary of Poitiers, a century before, had written: "Faithful souls would be contented with the word of God which bids us "Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." But also we are drawn by the faults of our heretical opponents to do things unlawful, to scale heights inaccessible, to speak out what is unspeakable, to presume where we ought not. And whereas it is by faith alone that we should worship the Father, and reverence the Son, and be filled with the Spirit, we are now obliged to strain our weak human language in the utterance of things beyond its scope, forced into this evil procedure by the evil procedure of our foes. Hence what should be matter of silent religious meditation must now needs be imperilled by exposition in words."[1]

It may be claimed as a merit of the Western Church that it found room, among the most sacred documents of its hereditary faith, not only for the controversial decrees of the first four Councils, but for the *Apostolicum*, the *Te Deum*, and the *Quicunque Vult*, anonymous compositions which voice the piety as well as the learned conviction of the Church. But, in the tyrannical stress laid in this latest of its Creeds upon the necessity, for salvation, of the faithful acceptance and the retention "whole and inviolate" of so large a body of metaphysical and controversial doctrine, there lay an omen of impending disruption in the household of faith. Even before the Great Schism of East and West, there was already confessional or symbolic divergence.

[1] Quoted in another connexion by Burn, art. "Creeds," in *Encycl. Brit.* 11th ed., vol. vii.

Not only in government, in language, and in worship, but also in doctrine, it was proving difficult, if not impossible, to maintain Constantine's imperial conception of the outward unity of the Catholic Apostolic Church.

The text and a literal translation of the *Quicunque Vult* are as follows :

Quicunque uult saluus esse ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem, quam nisi quisque integram inuiolatamque seruauerit, absque dubio in æternum peribit.	Whosoever would be saved[1] must above all hold the Catholic faith, which except a man have kept whole and inviolate, he shall without doubt perish eternally.
I. Fides autem catholica hæc est ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in Unitate ueneremur, neque confundentes personas neque substantiam separantes. Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti, sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est diuinitas, æqualis gloria, coæterna maiestas.	Now the catholic faith is this, that we worship one God in a Trinity and a Trinity in a Unity, neither confusing the persons nor separating the substance. For there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, another of the Holy Spirit, but of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit the divinity is one, the glory equal, the majesty coeternal.
Qualis Pater talis Filius, talis et Spiritus Sanctus. Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus et Spiritus Sanctus. Immensus Pater, immensus Filius, immensus et Spiritus Sanctus. Æternus Pater, æternus Filius, æternus et Spiritus Sanctus, et tamen non tres æterni sed unus æternus, sicut non tres increati nec tres immensi, sed unus increatus et unus immensus. Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens et Spiritus Sanctus, et tamen non tres omnipotentes sed unus omnipotens.	As the Father is, such is the Son, and such the Holy Spirit. The Father is uncreated, the Son is uncreated, and the Holy Spirit is uncreated. The Father is infinite, the Son is infinite, and the Holy Spirit is infinite. The Father is eternal, the Son is eternal, and the Holy Spirit is eternal, and yet there are not three eternals, but one eternal, just as there are not three uncreated nor three infinites, but one uncreated and one infinite. Likewise the Father is omnipotent, the Son is omnipotent, and the Holy Spirit is omnipotent, and there are not three omnipotents, but one omnipotent.

[1] Lit. " safe," " in a saved condition."

Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus Sanctus, et tamen non tres Dei sed unus est Deus. Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus et Spiritus Sanctus, et tamen non tres Domini sed unus est Dominus. Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam et Deum et Dominum confiteri christiana ueritate compellimur, ita tres Deos aut Dominos dicere catholica religione prohibemur.

So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God, and yet there are not three Gods, but there is one God. So the Father is Lord, the Son is Lord, and the Holy Spirit is Lord, and yet there are not three Lords, but there is one Lord. For just as we are compelled by Christian truth to confess each person singly both God and Lord, so by the catholic religion we are forbidden to speak of three Gods or Lords.

Pater a nullo est factus, nec creatus, nec genitus. Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, nec creatus, sed genitus. Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens. Unus ergo Pater non tres Patres, unus Filius non tres Filii, unus Spiritus Sanctus non tres Spiritus Sancti. Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil maius aut minus, sed totæ tres personæ coæternæ sibi sunt et coæquales; ita ut per omnia, sicut iam supra dictum est, et Trinitas in Unitate, et Unitas in Trinitate ueneranda sit. Qui uult ergo saluus esse, ita de Trinitate sentiat.

The Father is made of none, neither created, nor begotten. The Son is of the Father alone, not made, nor created, but begotten. The Holy Spirit is of the Father and the Son, not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding. There is therefore one Father, not three Fathers, one Son, not three Sons, one Holy Spirit, not three Holy Spirits. And in this Trinity there is no earlier or later, no greater or less, but the whole three persons are coeternal and coequal with each other; so that in all things, as is aforesaid, both a Trinity in a Unity and a Unity in a Trinity is to be worshipped. Let him, therefore, who would be saved think thus of the Trinity.

II. Sed necessarium est ad æternam salutem ut incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat. Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur quia Dominus noster Iesus Christus Dei Filius Deus et homo est.

But it is necessary to eternal salvation that he also believe faithfully the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is the right faith, therefore, that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and man.

Deus est ex substantia Patris ante sæcula genitus, et homo est ex

He is God, of the substance of the Father begotten before the worlds,

substantia matris in sæculo natus ; perfectus Deus, perfectus homo, ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens ; æqualis Patri secundum diuinitatem, minor Patri secundum humanitatem.

and He is man, of the substance of His mother, born in the world ; perfect God, perfect man, of a rational soul and human flesh subsisting ; equal to the Father according to His divinity, less than the Father according to His humanity.

Qui licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen sed unus est Christus : unus autem, non conuersione diuinitatis in carne, sed assumptione humanitatis in Deo : unus omnino non confusione substantiæ, sed unitate personæ. Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus ;

Who, though He be God and man, is yet not two, but one Christ : one, however, not by conversion of the divinity in the flesh, but by assumption of the humanity in God : one, altogether, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of person. For as a rational soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ ;

Qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferna, resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad cælos, sedet ad dexteram Patris, inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos, ad cuius aduentum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem ; et qui bona egerunt ibunt in uitam æternam, qui uero mala in ignem æternum.

Who suffered for our salvation, descended into hell, rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of the Father, from whence He shall come to judge the living and the dead, at whose advent all men are to rise again with their bodies, and render an account of their own deeds ; and they who have done good shall go into life eternal, but they who have done evil into eternal fire.

Haec est fides catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, saluus esse non poterit.[1]

This is the catholic faith, which except a man have faithfully and firmly believed, he shall not be able to be saved.[2]

[1] Text after Burn, *Introd. to Creeds*, p. 191 ff.

[2] Literal translation of Burn's Text.

CHAPTER VI.

CONFESSIONS IN THE GREEK AND ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

NEITHER before nor after the Great Schism has the Greek or "Holy Oriental Orthodox Catholic Apostolic" Church found it necessary or desirable to draw up a new Creed.[1] It recognizes still, as its ultimate standards, the original Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed with the addition of Chalcedon, assigning to the *Apostolicum* and the *Quicunque* (of course without the words "and from the Son") no higher status than that of devotional and private utility.

[1] General Literature.—Loofs, *Symbolik*, 1902, i. pp. 77–186; Kattenbusch, *Vergleich. Confessionskunde*, 1892, i. pp. 157–330; Schaff, *Hist. of the Creeds of Christendom*, 5th ed., N.Y. 1890, pp. 43–82, and *Creeds of the Gr. and Lat. Churches*, 5th ed., N.Y. 1890, pp. 273–554; J. Michalcescu, *Die Bekenntnisse u. die wichtigsten Glaubenszeugnisse der griech.-oriental. Kirche*, Leipzig, 1904; Hauck-Herzog, *Prot. Real-encycl.*, 3rd ed., artt. on the several churches, sects, documents, and persons; *Cath. Encycl.*, art. "Eastern Churches"; Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole u. Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche*, 3rd ed., Breslau, 1897; Gass, *Symbolik der griechischen Kirche*, Berlin, 1872; Butler, *Hist. and Lit. Account of the Formularies . . . of the R. C., Greek, and Principal Prot. Churches*, London, 1816; Neale, *Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church*, 1850; Silbernagl, *Verfass. u. gegenwärt. Bestand sämtl. Kirchen des Orients*, 3rd ed., Regensb. 1904; Kimmel, *Libri Symb. Eccles. Orient.*, Jena, 1843, with Appendix by Weissenborn, 1850. For the liturgies and embodied creeds: Swainson, *Greek Liturgies*, 1884; Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 1896; Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, 1863–1864; and the useful series of English translations of the Russian, Armenian, Coptic, and other liturgies pub. by Cope and Fenwick, London, 1908 f. For the Russian Church and Sects: Strahl, *Beiträge zur russ. Kirchengesch.*, Halle, 1837; Dalton, *Die russ. Kirche*, Leipzig, 1892; Leroy-Beaulieu, *L'Empire des Tsars et les Russes*, iii. 1881–1889 [Eng. tr. 1893]; Gehring, *Die Sekten der russ. Kirche*, Leipzig 1898; Blackmore, *Doctrine of the Russian Church*, Aberdeen, 1845. For the Armenian Church: Ter-Mikelian, *Die armen. Kirche*, Leipzig, 1892; E. Dulaurier, *Hist., Dogmes, Traditions, et Liturgie de l'Église armén.-orientale*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1857. For the Nestorian Church: Badger, *Nestorians and their Rituals*, 1852. For the rest, see detailed lit. in Loofs and Kattenbusch.

It adheres faithfully to the "Exposition of the Orthodox Faith" in which John of Damascus harmonized the theological work of the Greek Fathers and Councils of the first seven centuries (*c.* A.D. 750). While proud of the doctrinal immutability thus evidenced, it has not, however, altogther eluded the necessity of producing or adopting or condemning particular confessions and catechisms, and in some sense defining its relation to modern movements of thought both in the Protestant and in the Roman Catholic world. Alike in Russia and in Greece there is every likelihood that in future it will have to undertake yet further definitions of its faith; for, thanks to the national autonomy of many of its constituent branches, it cannot but be more and more influenced by the modern advance of the peoples which it represents. In the Turkish as well as in the Russian dominions the advent of political and social reforms, of constitutional liberty and religious toleration, cannot but be the precursor of far-reaching theological activities resulting not only in the development of minor sects, but in the modification of traditional opinions in the Ancient Church.

I. CONFESSIONS IN THE GRÆCO-RUSSIAN CHURCH.

THE CONFESSION OF GENNADIUS, A.D. 1453.

The earliest confessional statement of doctrine in the Greek Church was evoked by Mohammedan influence. Immediately after the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, at the desire of the victorious Sultan, Mohammed II., Gennadius, the newly-elected Patriarch, presented to him in Greek and Turkish a Confession or *Homily on the True Faith of the Christians.* It contains twenty short paragraphs, which set forth Christian doctrine without controversial reference to Western differences of opinion, explaining the Trinity, Person and Work of Christ, immortality and the resurrection. It closes with seven reasons

for Christianity :—a Saviour foreshadowed by Hebrew and heathen oracles ; the consistency of Scripture ; the acceptance of the gospel by the greatest and best men among all nations ; the high character and purpose of the Gospel ; its spiritual influence upon men ; the Christian revelation in harmony with reason ; the Church invincible and imperishable.

CONFESSIONS OF METROPHANES (A.D. 1625) AND CYRIL LUCAR (A.D. 1631).

The influence of Protestantism is unmistakable in the liberal orthodoxy of the *Confession of Metrophanes*, a Patriarch of Alexandria who had studied in English and German Universities, and who wrote against Romanism without hostility to Protestantism. It is extremely marked in the *Confession of Cyril Lucar*, the reforming Patriarch successively of Alexandria and Constantinople, who presented the Codex Alexandrinus to Charles I. of England, and who died a martyr to the Calvinism which he had embraced in Switzerland. Ten of the eighteen chapters of his Confession expound his Protestant convictions on the Canon and authority of the Scriptures, the duty of their universal circulation, the fallibility of the Church, justification by faith, predestination, the Sacraments, and purgatory. On justification he says :

" We believe that man is justified by faith, not by works. But when we say ' by faith,' we understand the correlative of faith, namely the righteousness of Christ, which faith, fulfilling the office of the hand, apprehends and applies to us for salvation. And this we understand to be fully consistent with, and in no wise to the prejudice of, good works . . . they are necessary means and testimonies of our faith, and a confirmation of our calling. . . . The righteousness of Christ, applied to the penitent, alone justifies and saves the believer."

The Confessions of Metrophanes and of Cyril Lucar were never approved, but they are of interest and value

not merely by reason of the distinction of their authors, but also as the occasion of the works which follow.

CONFESSIONS OF JEREMIAH (A.D. 1576), MOGILAS (A.D. 1640), AND DOSITHEUS (A.D. 1672).

Protestant teaching was definitely condemned and repudiated in three Confessions which were sanctioned by the Patriarchs of the Church in Synod, and became standards of orthodox doctrine. The *Answers of Jeremiah*, Patriarch of Constantinople, were given to two distinguished Lutheran professors of Tübingen, who had sent a copy of the Augsburg Confession to him. The *Catechism*, or *Orthodox Confession of Peter Mogilas* (*c.* A.D. 1640, revised 1643), the learned Metropolitan of Kieff, was aimed at Rome not less than at Protestantism. It opens with the question, "What must an orthodox catholic Christian man observe in order to inherit eternal life?" and answer, "Right faith and good works," teaches that faith must precede works, and divides itself under three heads, Faith, Hope, and Love. Under Faith the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed is expounded in twelve articles; under Hope the Lord's Prayer and the Beatitudes; under Love to God and to man the various virtues and sins, and, finally, the Ten Commandments.[1] The *Confession of Dositheus* was accompanied by *six chapters* of Acts of the Synod of Jerusalem (A.D. 1672), in which Lucar's Confession was denounced as a forgery, and his genuine homilies quoted against it. The Confession of Dositheus contains eighteen decrees controverting *seriatim* the eighteen chapters of Lucar, finally disowning, by authority of the Council, the distinctive tenets both of Luther and of Calvin, with four added questions and answers on Scripture, on the Worship of Saints, and on the veneration of sacred objects and places. Throughout there is obvious affinity at all points with Romanism, where it takes issue with Protestantism.[2]

[1] Greek and Latin texts in Schaff, *Creeds of the Greek and Latin Churches*, pp. 275–400.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 401–444.

MODERN RUSSIAN STANDARDS AND MANUALS.

Something of a reaction towards a more simply Scriptural teaching is to be discerned in the later manuals of doctrine. The Bible has never been a closed book to the people in the Orthodox Church, although the earlier standards discouraged lay Bible-reading. The multiplication of sects in Russia is a direct outcome of the study of the Scriptures by circles of pious readers. Extreme views like those of Tolstoi rest upon the literal acceptance of the Bible, at least in certain fundamental portions, and their widespread acceptance has been due to a popular acquaintance with the Book, and a conviction of their harmony with it. The progress of public enlightenment has thus affected the official teaching of the Church, and its accredited manuals, based on the older standards as they are, possess many admirable characteristics, in particular an unaffected simplicity of diction and thought, and a use of Biblical language, well suited to their purpose of instructing unlearned priests and the great masses of the uneducated people.

The *Catechism of Platon*, Metropolitan of Moscow, was published in 1762.[1] It had been prepared for the religious instruction of the Grand Duke Paul. The *Primer*[2] or *Spelling-book* (7th ed., 1825), provides for children and for the people simple prayers, including the Lord's Prayer, the "Hail Mary, Virgin Mother of God," without the words "Pray for us" used in the Western Church, the Nicene Creed in the form of Constantinople, the Decalogue, and sundry simple rules and precepts. *The Duty of Parish Priests* is a manual prepared by two bishops and published in 1776, used in preparation and examination of students proceeding to holy orders.[3] Its doctrinal attitude is indicated in these words: "All the articles of the faith are contained in the Word of God, that is, in the books of

[1] Under title *Orthodox Doctrine, or Summary of Christian Divinity*, tr. R. Pinkerton, ed. 1814.

[2] Tr. Blackmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–13.

[3] Tr. *ibid.* pp. 142–288.

the Old and New Testaments. . . . The Word of God is the source, foundation, and perfect rule, both of our faith and of the good works of the law. . . . The writings of the holy Fathers are of great use . . . but neither the writings of the holy Fathers, nor the traditions of the Church are to be confounded or equalled with the Word of God and His Commandments."

Most important, because most representative of modern Russian orthodoxy, are the *Longer and Shorter Catechisms of Philaret*, A.D. 1839 and 1840, whose author, the historian of his Church, distinguished by saintly character, by noble eloquence, and by statesmanlike knowledge of affairs, was for well-nigh half a century Metropolitan of Moscow. The *Full Catechism*, as the Longer is called, was approved by all the Eastern Patriarchs, as well as by the Russian Holy Synod, and has taken the place in Russia of the Catechism of Mogilas, whose order it closely follows.[1] The following is a summary with illustrative extracts:

1. What is an Orthodox Catechism ?

An Orthodox Catechism is an instruction in the orthodox Christian faith, to be taught to every Christian, to enable him to please God and save his own soul.

3. What is necessary in order to please God and to save one's own soul ?

In the first place, a knowledge of the true God, and a right faith in Him; in the second place, a life according to faith, and good works.

4. Why is faith necessary in the first place ?

Because, as the Word of God testifies, *Without faith it is impossible to please God* (Heb. xi. 6).

5. Why must a life according to faith, and good works, be inseparable from this faith ?

Because, as the Word of God testifies, *Faith without works is dead* (Jas. ii. 20).

6. What is faith ?

According to the definition of St. Paul, *Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen* (Heb. xi. 1); that is,

[1] Schaff, *Creeds of the Greek and Roman Churches*, pp. 445–542, Blackmore's translation. Tr. of Shorter Cat. in Blackmore, pp. 15–27.

a trust in the unseen as though it were seen, in that which is hoped and waited for as if it were present.

7. What is the difference between knowledge and faith ?

Knowledge has for its object things visible and comprehensible; faith, things which are invisible and even incomprehensible. Knowledge is founded on experience, on examination of its object; but faith on belief of testimony to truth. Knowledge belongs properly to the intellect, although it may also act on the heart; faith belongs principally to the heart, although it is imparted through the intellect.

9. Can you illustrate further the necessity of faith ?

St. Cyril thus illustrates it: *It is not only amongst us, who bear the name of Christ, that faith is made so great a thing; but every thing which is done in the world, even by men who are unconnected with the Church, is done by faith. Agriculture is founded on faith; for no one who did not believe that he would gather in the increase of the fruits of the earth would undertake the labour of husbandry. Mariners are guided by faith when they entrust their fate to a slender plank, and prefer the agitation of the unstable waters to the more stable element of the earth. They give themselves up to uncertain expectations, and retain for themselves nothing but faith, to which they trust more than to any anchors* (Cyr. *Catech.* v.).

10–15 treat of Divine Revelation as the source of orthodox faith. God has given it for all, as being necessary for all alike, and capable of bringing salvation to all; but since not all men are capable of receiving a revelation immediately from God, He has employed special persons as heralds of His revelation, to deliver it to all who are desirous of receiving it.

16–24 treat of Holy Tradition and Holy Scripture as the two channels of Revelation. The former is the most ancient and original instrument. There were no books from Adam to Moses. Our Lord wrote no book. The Apostles at first followed the same method. Books can be available only to a small part of mankind, but tradition to all. Scripture was given that revelation might be preserved more exactly. In it we read the words of the Prophets and Apostles precisely as if we were living with them and listening to them. We must follow that tradition which agrees with the Divine revelation and with Holy Scripture, as is taught us by Holy Scripture itself (2 Thess. ii. 15). Tradition is necessary even now as a guide to the right understanding of Scripture, for the right ministration

of the sacraments, and the preservation of sacred rites and ceremonies in the purity of their original institution.

25–61 treat of Holy Scripture and its contents, omitting the Apocrypha as not existing in the Hebrew. It is to be read devoutly as the Word of God, and with prayer to understand it aright; with a pure desire of instruction in faith and incitement to good works; and in the sense in which it is interpreted by the Church and the Fathers. It proves its authenticity as the Word of God by the superhuman sublimity and Divine purity of its doctrine, by its prophecies and miracles and mighty effect on the hearts of men; for example, twelve Apostles, taken from among poor and unlearned people, of the lowest class, by this doctrine overcame and subdued to Christ the mighty, the wise, and the rich, kings and their kingdoms.

62–65 conclude the Introduction, dividing the rest of the Catechism into three parts:

I. Doctrine on Faith in God, and on the Sacraments which He reveals,
II. Doctrine on Hope towards God, and on the means of being grounded in it,
III. Doctrine on Love to God, and all that He commands us to love.

Part I., questions 66–385, treats of the twelve articles of the Creed of Nicæa and Constantinople in the light of Scripture and the Fathers, the corroborative quotations for the most part being admirably chosen, and the interest well sustained.

Questions 76–128, of God the Father and Creator, discuss faith and its confession, the unity, essence, and attributes of God, His spirituality, His fatherhood not of men but in the Trinity, His three persons, the world of angels, creation, the image of God in man consisting *in righteousness and holiness of truth* (Eph. iv. 24), Paradise, which is material for the body, spiritual for the soul, the tree of life, a tree whose fruit would have given bodily freedom from disease and death, man's end to know and love and glorify God and to be happy for ever, predestination, or God's will that all men should receive preparatory grace and means sufficient for the attainment of happiness, and providence.

Questions 129–149, of Jesus Christ the Son of God, discuss the sacred names and their meaning, *Jesus, Christ, Lord, Word, Only-*

begotten, Light of light, Very God of very God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father.

Questions 150–198, of the Incarnation, discuss the descent from heaven, sin and its transmission, death, which dissolves the body but keeps the soul in darkness, anguish and suffering, the promise of a Saviour, the incarnation, the two natures and two corresponding wills, Mary ever virgin, the Mother of God, excelling every created being in grace and nearness to God and in dignity, the virgin birth pure and also painless, the promises and the recognition of Christ, the miracles, salvation by His doctrine life, death, and resurrection.

Questions 199–211, of the Suffering and Death of Jesus Christ, discuss its cause in the hatred and the envy of the elders and scribes, its limitation to His manhood, its voluntariness, its deliverance of us from sin the curse and death, He being the second Adam and undoing the work of the first, the sacrifice offered for all but not received by all, fellowship in the sufferings and death of Christ through faith and the Sacraments and the crucifixion of fleshly lusts,—for instance when anger prompts us to revile an enemy and to do him harm, but we resist the wish, and, remembering how Jesus Christ on the cross prayed for His enemies, pray likewise for ours, we thus crucify the affection of anger.

Questions 212–222, of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, discuss it as a proof of His victory, the state which preceded it, Hades, the descent thereto, the reference to prophecy in the words *according to the Scripture*, the proofs of the resurrection, its purpose to continue the teaching of the mysteries of the Kingdom of God.

Questions 223–225, of the Ascension, discuss the Scripture evidence, its reference to Christ's manhood since in His Godhead He ever was in heaven, the spiritual meaning of the phrase *at the right hand of God the Father.*

Questions 226–237, of the Second Coming of Christ on Earth, discuss the relevant Scriptures, His judgment, the day unrevealed, the signs vouchsafed, Antichrist, Christ's kingdom of nature—the whole world, of grace—all believers upon earth, of glory—all the blessed in heaven.

Questions 238–251, of the Holy Ghost, discuss His designations, *Lord*, and *Giver of life*, His procession from the Father alone, His right to worship, His inspiration of the Prophets and Apostles, Pentecost, His communication to all believers through prayer and

the Sacraments (Luke xi. 13 and Tit. iii. 4–6), His seven gifts according to Isa. xi. 2.

Questions 252–282, of the Church, "a divinely instituted community of men, united by the orthodox faith, the law of God, the hierarchy, and the Sacraments," discuss its visibility on earth and invisibility so far as in heaven, its assured grace, its unity in spite of its separate organizations, its intercommunion on earth and in heaven through the prayer of faith and love,—"the faithful who belong to the Church militant upon earth, in offering their prayers to God, call at the same time to their aid the saints who belong to the Church in heaven, and these, standing on the highest steps of approach to God, by their prayers and intercessions purify, strengthen, and offer before God the prayers of the faithful living upon earth, and by the will of God work graciously upon them, either by invisible virtue, or by distinct apparitions and in divers other ways";—the warrant for the invocation of saints to be found in 1 Chron. xxix. 18, Rev. viii. 3, 4, fortified by Cyril and Basil, and for belief in their continued influence on earth in Matt. xxvii. 52, 53, 2 Kings xiii. 21, by relics Acts xix. 12, cf. Gregory the Divine and John Damascene; the Church's holiness in spite of sinful members, its catholicity and privilege and apostolicity, the suggestions of the name "Eastern"—"In Paradise, planted in the East, was founded the first Church of our parents in innocence; and in the East, after the Fall, was laid a new foundation of the Church of the redeemed, in the promise of a Saviour; in the East, in the land of Judea, our Lord Jesus Christ, having finished the work of our salvation, laid the foundation of His own proper Christian Church . . .," the Hierarchy founded by Christ, Eph. iv. 11, 12.

Questions 283–365, of Baptism and the other six Sacraments, define a Sacrament as a holy act, through which grace, or the saving power of God, works mysteriously upon man. Baptism is by trine immersion, and requires repentance and faith: by it man dies to the carnal life of sin, and is mysteriously born again of the Holy Spirit to a spiritual life: by the exorcism the Devil, who since Adam's fall has had power over men as his captives and slaves, is driven away: the sign of the cross made in faith has the same value as the name of Christ uttered in faith. Unction with chrism sanctifies the mind, the heart, the senses, and the whole life, represented by the forehead, breast, eyes, ears, lips, hands, and feet. In the Communion, man is spiritually fed: the very body and

blood of Christ are partaken of: each part of the service has a special meaning, which is explained in detail: the consecration effects transubstantiation: fasting and prayer are proper preparations: the primitive Christians communicated every Lord's Day, but now few have such purity of life as to be always prepared to approach so great a mystery: our Mother the Church calls on all who would live religiously to confess before their spiritual Father and communicate four times yearly, or even every month, but requires all without exception to receive it at the least once a year. Penitence is a Sacrament in which he who confesses his sins is, on the outward declaration of pardon by a priest, inwardly loosed from his sins by Jesus Christ Himself: the exercises of penance are used to cleanse and give peace to the conscience. Orders, Matrimony, and Unction of the Sick, confer respectively grace spiritually to regenerate, feed, and nurture others, by doctrine and Sacraments, grace sanctifying the married life, which is inferior to the celibate, and the procreation and nurture of children, and medicine even for bodily diseases, in that spiritual are healed.

Questions 366–377, of the Resurrection of the Dead, describe it as an act of the almighty power of God, by which all bodies of dead men being reunited to their souls shall return to life, and shall thenceforth be spiritual and immortal: after death the souls of the righteous are in light and rest, with a foretaste of eternal happiness; but the souls of the wicked are in a state the reverse of this: by the constant tradition of the Catholic Church it is taught that souls which have departed with faith but without having had time to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, may be aided towards the attainment of a blessed resurrection by prayers offered in their behalf, especially such as are offered in union with the oblation of the bloodless sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, and by works of mercy done in faith for their memory.

Questions 378–385, of the life of the world to come, describe it as of inconceivable happiness from the contemplation of God in light and glory, and from union with Him: in that happiness soul and body share: believers enjoy it not equally, but in proportion as every one shall have here endured the fight of faith, love, and good works; unbelievers and transgressors are given over to everlasting death—that is, to everlasting fire, to everlasting torment, with the devils: meditations on these things will assist us to abstain from sin, and to wean our affections from earthly things, they will console

us for the loss or absence of worldly goods, incite us to keep our souls and bodies pure, to live to God and to eternity, and so to attain everlasting salvation.

Part II., questions 386–480, treats of Christian Hope and its ground in Christ, of Prayer outward and inward, the Lord's Prayer and its successive petitions, and of the Doctrine of Blessedness in the nine successive Beatitudes.

Part III., questions 481–611, treats of Christian Love united with faith and expressed in good works: the Law of the Ten successive Commandments and their teaching in detail, and concludes with three questions on the application of the doctrine of faith and piety:

609. How must we apply the doctrine of faith and piety?

We must act according to our knowledge, and keep before our eyes the fearful judgment threatened for disobedience.

If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them (John xiii. 17).

That servant which knew his Lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes (Luke xii. 47).

610. What must a man do when he is conscious of any sin?

Not only should he immediately repent, and firmly resolve to avoid the same sin for the future, but also strive as far as possible to repair the scandal or injury that he has wrought by contrary good deeds.

Thus it was that Zaccheus the publican acted when he said to the Lord, *Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have taken anything away from any one by false accusation, I restore him fourfold* (Luke xix. 8).

611. What caution do we need when we seem to ourselves to have fulfilled any commandment?

We must then dispose our hearts according to the words of Jesus Christ: *When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do* (Luke xvii. 10).

ARTICLES OF THE OLD-CATHOLIC CONFERENCES.

The "Old-Catholic" Conferences of 1874 and 1875 at Bonn issued in the formulation of a series of articles upon which the Western and Eastern Catholics and the Anglicans

present were able to agree as a doctrinal basis for future reunion; but these articles, though markedly influenced by the Russo-Greek representatives, have not been formally recognized by their Synod.[1]

RUSSIAN SECTS.

Neither political nor ecclesiastical despotism has availed to prevent the rise of sects within the territories of the Russian State-church. Not to speak of the numerous following of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland and elsewhere, three main sectarian groups with numerous subdivisions have been distinguished, and their united strength has been estimated as one-tenth of the whole population, or one-sixth of the Orthodox—some fourteen millions. The main groups consist of: (*a*) Starowjerzy, or Old-believers, who resented the liturgical reforms of Patriarch Nicon in the sixteenth century, and who are still represented by the *Popowzy* (priest-retaining and organized) and *Bespopowzy* (priestless and unorganized); (*b*) the Chlysty, Skopzy, Duchoborzy, and Molokany, characterized by mystic, ascetic, or rationalistic eccentricities; (*c*) Baptists, Stundists, and others more or less in sympathy with evangelical Protestantism and Pietism, among whose circles the theological, ethical, and social views of Leo Tolstoi have not seldom found a place.

CREED OF TOLSTOI.

The creed of Tolstoi is published in his memorable Reply to the Synod's Edict of excommunication in 1901. Having an importance all its own it deserves a place here. It runs thus:

I believe in God, whom I comprehend as Spirit, as Love, as the Source of all.

I believe that He is in me and I in Him.

I believe that the Will of God is most clearly and comprehen-

[1] See below, p. 124.

sively expressed in the teaching of the man Christ,—to regard whom as God, and to pray to whom, I deem the greatest sacrilege.

I believe that the true welfare of man lies in the fulfilment of the Will of God; and that His Will consists in men loving each other, and therefore behaving towards others as they desire that others should behave with them; as it is said in the Gospels, "in this is contained all the law and the prophets."

I believe that the meaning of the life of every man, therefore, lies only in the increase of love in himself; that this increase of love leads the individual man in this life towards greater and greater welfare; that after death it gives the greater welfare the more love there be in the man; and that, at the same time, more than anything else, it contributes to the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth—that is, to an order of life where the discord, deceit, and violence which now reign will be replaced by free agreement, truth, and brotherly love between men.

I believe that for the development of Love there is but one means —prayer, not public prayer in churches, which was expressly forbidden by Christ (Matt. vi. 5–13); but that prayer an example of which is given by Christ, solitary prayer, consisting in the re-establishment and strengthening in one's consciousness of the meaning of one's life and of one's dependence solely upon the Will of God.

Whether these my beliefs do or do not offend, grieve, or perplex any one, I am as little able to alter them as I am to alter my body. I have to live alone and I have to die alone (and that very soon), and therefore I cannot possibly believe otherwise than as I do, preparing to go to that God from whom I have come. I do not say that my belief is the only undoubtedly true one for all times, but I do not see any other more simple, clear, and answering all the demands of my mind and heart. Were I to learn a better, I would immediately accept it, because God requires nothing but the truth. But to return to that from which I have just escaped, I decidedly cannot, as a flying bird cannot return into the egg-shell from which it has come.

Coleridge has said: "He who begins by loving Christianity better than truth, will proceed by loving his own sect or Church better than Christianity, and end by loving himself"—(his own peace)—"better than all."

I have advanced in the opposite way. I began by loving my Orthodox faith more than my peace; then I loved Christianity

more than my Church; and now I love the Truth more than anything in the world. And until now the Truth coincides for me with Christianity as I understand it; and I profess this Christianity, and in that measure in which I do profess it I peacefully and joyously live and peacefully and joyously am approaching death.[1]

II. CONFESSIONS IN THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

Outside the pale of the Orthodox Oriental Church, with its federated patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Moscow, and National Churches of Russia, Servia, Rumania, Greece, Montenegro, and Bulgaria, there remain a number of Eastern National Churches, more or less attenuated by defections either to Greek or to Roman Catholicism, whose origin is very ancient, dating from successive doctrinal decisions of the Councils of the undivided Church. They are all loyal to the original Nicene doctrine, but are kept apart from the rest of Christendom by their rejection of subsequent additions to the accepted doctrine of Catholicism.

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH.

The Armenian Church, the most powerful of the group, is the oldest existing National Church, dating as such from the fourth century, though founded earlier. It was represented at the Council of Nicæa and accepted its Creed; though not a party to them, it recognized the subsequent decrees of 381 and 431, yet not as œcumenical; absent also from the Council of Chalcedon, it repudiated its symbol (A.D. 451), rejecting alike the Christology then affirmed and the Eutychian heresy then condemned, and holding an independent Monophysite view, viz., that Christ had neither two natures nor a Divine nature absorbing the human, but a single 'composite' or 'double' nature. Of its three liturgical creeds for the Eucharistic, baptismal, and morning services, the first, and chief, which in its present form has been retained since the sixth century, consists of

[1] *What is Religion?* Eng. tr., Christchurch, Hants, 1902, pp. 136–137.

the Nicene, with modifications or additions directed against the earlier heresies of Apollinaris and Marcellus. Even in conjunction they fail to represent fully the doctrinal idiosyncrasies of the Church. From the fourteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century a composite Creed was in favour. Special professions of Armenian faith of an official though occasional character were presented to Western princes or popes or others in 1166, 1562, 1585, 1671. There is a modern Catechism whose teaching betrays the influence of Græco-Russian orthodoxy.

THE NESTORIAN CHURCH.

The Nestorian or Persian Church represents the persistence of an even earlier heresy than the Armenian, protesting against the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431) as having unjustly condemned Nestorius' doctrine of the two natures of Christ, according to which the human was marked off from the Divine so sharply that the title "Mother of God" was refused to the Virgin Mary. Its baptismal confession is a pre-Chalcedonian variety of the Nicene Creed.

THE SYRIAN, COPTIC, AND ABYSSINIAN CHURCHES.

The Jacobite Churches, or Churches loyal to the tradition of Jacobus Baradæus, Bishop of Edessa (A.D. 543–578), are the ancient national Syrian, Coptic, and Abyssinian Churches. They also, with the Armenian, reject the Chalcedonian and later Creeds, and cherish a Monophysite Christology.

THE CHRISTIANS OF ST. THOMAS.

The Christians of St. Thomas, a handful of survivors of the ancient native Church of Nestorian converts on the south-west coast of India, have since the seventeenth century conformed to the Monophysitism of the Jacobite Churches.

CHAPTER VII.

CONFESSIONS IN THE ROMAN AND OLD-CATHOLIC CHURCHES.

I. IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

FROM Nicæa (A.D. 325) to the Vatican (A.D. 1870) the Roman Catholic Church recognises in all the decrees of twenty-one General Councils as in whole or part œcumenically binding.[1] In the forefront of its doctrine stand the Apostles', the Niceno-Constantinopolitan (with Eastern and Western additions from Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Toledo), and the Athanasian Creeds. Since the time of the final adjustment and adoption of these symbols no occasion for further Confession-making emerged until the era of the Reformation confronted the Church with numerous Protestant statements of doctrine, and elicited from it the *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (A.D. 1545–1563), which consolidated and stereotyped its doctrine, bringing into its dogmatic system the results of mediæval Councils, of Papal decisions, and of Patristic and Scholastic thought in opposition to the Reformers' direct appeal to the spirit and letter of Scripture.

[1] GENERAL LITERATURE.—For the standards of the Roman Catholic Church, and bibliography: SCHAFF, *History of Creeds*, pp. 83–191, *Creeds of Gr. and Lat. Churches*, pp. 76–271; LOOFS, *Symbolik*, i. pp. 187–216 (on Oriental Churches in communion with Rome, pp. 393–399); DENZINGER, *Enchiridion*, 10th ed. 1900; artt. in ADDIS-ARNOLD'S *Cathol. Dict.*, 6th ed. 1903, in WETZER-WELTE, in the *Cathol. Encycl.*, in VACANT-MANGENOT'S *Dict. de Théol. Cathol.*, and in HAUCK-HERZOG, *Realencycl.*, 3rd ed.; cf. also WINER, *Confessions of Christendom*, Eng. tr. 1873; BUTLER, *Hist. and Lit. Account of the Formularies, etc., of the R.C., Greek, and Principal Prot. Churches*, 1816. For critical account of the doctrine, see HARNACK, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., vol. vii. 1899.

THE CANONS AND DECREES OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

The Decrees and Canons of the Reforming or Counter-Reforming Council of Trent, which was convened at the instance principally of the Emperor, Charles v., in December 1545, by Pope Paul III., to revise and codify the doctrine and discipline of the Church, and thus to confront, if not conciliate, the Protestants with a compact authoritative system, mark the close of mediæval confusion, and the deliberate transition towards the modern Curialism in faith, organization, and morals which was ultimately effected in the nineteenth century. Whatever hopes the Emperor and other Princes or Churchmen of reforming sympathies cherished of a formulation of doctrine in Augustinian terms which the Reformers might be expected to accept, were for the most part disappointed, though the decree on Justification went far towards that goal. The perhaps inevitable exclusion of Protestants from all effective participation in the work of the Council combined with the influence of the Jesuit order and the natural self-interest of the Papal authority to make it practically impossible for the Council to do any substantial justice to the spiritual demands which Protestantism expressed. The decrees are the utterance of jealous defence, the Canons with their anathemas are the challenge of proud defiance. The party which was sensible of the debt of the religious world to Protestant heroism was easily outnumbered and crushed at every stage, and their sympathetic insight into the mind and heart of the Reformers found no expression in the resultant dogmas.

The constitution of the Council and its historical setting must be carefully taken into account if one would appreciate the language of the decisions which it reached. Throughout its 25 sessions—from 1545 to 1547 under Paul III. at Trent (sessions i.–viii.) and Bologna (sessions ix.–x.), from 1551 to 1552 under Julius III. at Trent (sessions xi.–xvi.), and from 1562 to 1563 under Pius IV. at Trent (sessions xvii.–xxv.)—its proceedings were one long and

anxious tissue of ecclesiastical and theological diplomacy and strategy, and its declarations had necessarily to be in every case a well-weighed compromise, conciliating, through omissions or ambiguities of phrase, the conflicting rival interests and tendencies. If Augustinian thought seemed on the surface to dominate the findings, room was carefully found for Scotist and Jesuit views of a Pelagian or semi-Pelagian type in their ultimate form. The gifted Jesuit scholars, Lainez and Salmeron, with the dignity of Papal theologians, were the most influential and consistent force throughout the processes both of drafting and debate, and it is on the whole their doctrine, dexterously cloaked in the terminology of their opponents, which is represented in the propositions laid down. Inspiration or genius will hardly be looked for in a body of doctrine whose origin thus lay in compromise. The very title "Decrees" is eloquent of its true nature as a work of legislation by majority. Anything like theological spontaneity was out of the question in a Pope-dominated conclave. Anything but a Pope-dominated conclave was out of the question in the unreformed mediæval Church. Whatever concessions in detail to the claims of doctrinal and disciplinary reform the decrees might contain, the seal of reaction was stamped indelibly over them by the twofold proviso which overrules and virtually annuls them—*that the Pope was to be sole exponent of the decrees henceforth, and that no one, on pain of anathema, was to impeach the accepted usages and order of the Church*—a proviso made yet more exacting by the clause in the subsequent Profession of Tridentine Faith, in which all holders of ecclesiastical office swore truly to obey the Bishop of Rome (Article x.) and to maintain "entire and inviolate" the Tridentine Faith to the end of their life (Article xii.). Thus, though a majority in the Council was unprepared to admit that bishops had their power from and through the Pope and not directly from Christ, the Council by its own ultimate submission prepared the way for the Papal action in the nineteenth century.

The Decrees and Canons which concern us in this connexion are those of Sessions III. on the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed accepted as basis:

IV. On Canonical Scripture:
V. On Original Sin:
VI. On Justification:
VII. On the Sacraments in General, Baptism, and Confirmation:
XIII. On the Sacrament of the Eucharist:
XIV. On the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction:
XXI. On Communion in both kinds, and Communion of Children:
XXII. On the Sacrifice of the Mass:
XXIII. On the Sacrament of Ordination:
XXIV. On the Sacrament of Matrimony:
XXV. On Purgatory, the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and Sacred Images; on Indulgences, Foods, Fasts, Festivals, the Index, Catechism, Breviary, and Missal.[1]

The Decrees proper are the positive statement of doctrine, the affirmative theses. The Canons, which follow the various decrees, are short statements and condemnations of contrary teachings, each concluding with an anathema. The later Syllabus of Errors in 1864 is thus a continuation of the damnatory Canons of Trent.

Session III. declares that the "sacred and holy, œcumenical and general Synod of Trent" ordains and decrees that a confession of faith be set forth, viz. "the Symbol of faith which the holy Roman Church makes use of,—as being that principle wherein all who profess the faith of Christ necessarily agree,"—the Creed of Nicæa in the form of Constantinople, with the Western additions.

Session IV. treats of the bases of authoritative doctrine for the first time in conciliar history, and co-ordinates Holy Scripture, including the Apocrypha, in the Latin Vulgate alone, with "unwritten

[1] Latin text and tr. in Schaff, *Creeds of Gr. and Lat. Churches*, pp. 77–206; critical history in Lindsay, *Hist. of Reformation*, 1907, ii. pp. 564–596, detailed bibliog. in note, p. 564, and in Schaff, *Hist. of Creeds*, pp. 90–99, with bibliog.; theological analysis and criticism in Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. (1899), vii. pp. 35–72; art. in Hauck-Herzog, *Prot. Realencycl.*

traditions which, having been received from Christ's own lips by the Apostles, or transmitted, as it were, manually by the Apostles themselves, under the dictation of the Holy Spirit, have come down even to us" . . . "preserved in continuous succession within the Catholic Church," . . . which also it receives "with an equal feeling of piety and reverence." "No one, relying on his own skill shall,—in matters of faith and of morals pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine,—wresting the sacred Scripture to his own senses, presume to interpret it contrary to that sense which holy Mother Church . . . hath held and doth hold; or even contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers."

Session V. condemns five erroneous opinions, on Original Sin, of a Pelagian or semi-Pelagian type; but its apparent Augustinianism is so phrased as, *e.g.*, to admit of the doctrine that what man lost through the Fall was the superadded *dona supernaturalia*, and nothing inherent in human nature as such; and it affirms that "free will is not at all destroyed, but attenuated." It ends by excluding the Virgin Mary from the operation of the taint—an anticipation of the Papal definition in 1854 of her immaculate conception.

Session VI. contains the Decree on Justification in 16 chapters, and concludes with no fewer than 33 canons. Chapter i. treats of the Inability of Nature and of the Law to justify man; ii. of the Dispensation and Mystery of the Advent of Christ; iii. states that, though Christ died for all, only those receive the benefit of His death unto whom the merit of His Passion is communicated. As men not born of Adam do not share his sin, so men not born again in Christ cannot share His merit. iv. states that a man cannot be translated into the state of grace, since the promulgation of the gospel, without the laver of regeneration, or the desire thereof. v. declares that "in adults the beginning of Justification is to be derived from the prevenient grace of God, through Jesus Christ, *i.e.* through His calling whereby without any merits on their part they are called, that so they who by sins were alienated from God may be disposed through His quickening and assisting grace to convert themselves to their own justification by freely assenting to and co-operating with that said grace: in such sort that, while God touches the heart of man by the illumination of the Holy Ghost, neither is man himself utterly inactive while he receives that inspiration, forasmuch as he is also able to reject it; nor yet is he able, by his own free will, without the grace of God, to move himself

unto righteousness in His sight." vi. sets forth the manner of preparation for justification. vii. affirms the characteristic Roman doctrine that Justification "is not remission of sins merely, but also the sanctification and renewal of the inward man, through the voluntary reception of the grace, and of the gifts, whereby man from being unjust becomes just." Its *final cause* is "the glory of God and of Jesus Christ, and life everlasting." Its *efficient cause* is "a merciful God who washes and sanctifies gratuitously, signing and anointing with the holy Spirit of promise." The *meritorious cause* is "our Lord Jesus Christ, who, when we were enemies, merited justification for us by His most Holy Passion on the wood of the Cross, and made satisfaction for us unto God the Father." The *instrumental cause* is "the sacrament of Baptism, which is the sacrament of that faith without which no man was ever justified." The alone *formal cause* is "the justice of God, not that whereby He Himself is just, but that whereby He maketh us just." "Man through Jesus Christ, in whom He is engrafted, receives in the said justification, together with the remission of sins, all these gifts infused at once—faith, hope, and charity. For faith, unless hope and charity be added thereto, neither unites man perfectly with Christ, nor makes him a living member of His body." viii. states that the phrases "justified by faith" and "freely" are to be understood as meaning that faith is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and root of all justification, but that faith is no more in itself able than good works to merit the grace of justification. ix. declaims against the vain confidence of heretics who rest in their personal assurance of justification apart from the Church and its ordinances; whereas "no one can know with a certainty of faith which cannot be subject to error, that he has obtained the grace of God." x. treats of the increase of Justification received; xi. of keeping the Commandments. xii. urges that "no one, so long as he is in this mortal life, ought so far to presume as regards the secret mystery of Divine predestination, as to determine for certain that he is assuredly in the number of the predestinate; as if it were true that he that is justified either cannot sin any more, or, if he do sin, that he ought to promise himself an assured repentance; for, except by special revelation, it cannot be known whom God hath chosen unto Himself." xiii. deals similarly with the gift of Perseverance. xiv. sets forth the Sacrament of Penance, in the language of the Fathers *a second plank after the shipwreck of grace lost*, as instituted

by Christ when He said: *Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven them, and whose sins ye shall retain, they are retained.* The penitence of a Christian after his fall is very different from that at baptism: in it are included not only a cessation from sins, and a detestation of them, but also the sacramental confession of them—at least in desire—and sacerdotal absolution; and likewise satisfaction by fasts, alms, prayers, and the other pious exercises of a spiritual life; not, indeed, for the eternal punishment which with the guilt is remitted by the sacrament or by the desire of it, but for the temporal punishment which, as the sacred writings teach, is not always wholly remitted as is done in baptism. xv. sets forth that by every mortal sin grace is lost, but not faith. xvi. treats of the fruit of justification, *i.e.* the merit of good works, and the nature of that merit. God is the rewarder of faithful labour: life eternal is set forth in Scripture "both as a grace mercifully promised to the sons of God through Jesus Christ, and as a reward which is . . . to be faithfully rendered to their good works and merits." Yet the Christian has no ground to glory, but justice is through Christ and of God throughout.

Session VII. sets forth the general doctrine of the Sacraments, "through which all true justice either begins, or being begun is increased, or being lost is repaired," in 13 canons, which condemn the denial that the sacraments were all instituted by Christ or are seven in number, that they differ from those of the Old Law, that they are of varying value, that they are necessary unto salvation, that they are for other ends than to nourish faith, that they contain and confer the grace they signify, that the grace is conferred through the act performed, that Baptism, Confirmation, and Ordination imprint an indelible character and therefore may not be repeated, that ministers alone may administer the word and sacraments. Then follow 14 canons on Baptism, condemning, *inter alia*, the denial of the validity of baptism, "even by heretics, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, with the intention of doing what the Church doth," and 3 canons on Confirmation.

Session XIII. treats of the Sacrament of the Eucharist in 8 chapters, followed by 11 canons. Chapter i., of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, affirms that after the consecration of the elements He, "true God and man, is truly, really, and substantially contained under the species of those sensible things." His continual presence at the right hand of the Father does not contra-

dict in a Divine being His sacramental presence. "It is indeed a crime the most unworthy that they [the words of institution] should be wrested, by certain contentious and wicked men, to fictitious and imaginary tropes, whereby the verity of the flesh and blood of Christ is denied, contrary to the universal sense of the Church, which, as the pillar and ground of truth, has detested, as satanical, these inventions devised by impious men." ii. defines the reason of the institution as the commemoration of Christ's death, the nourishment of men's souls, a pledge of the glory to come, and a symbol of the one body of which Christ is the head. iii. affirms the superiority of this sacrament to the others as consisting of the very Author of sanctity Himself. iv. affirms the complete transubstantiation of the elements into the substance of Christ's body and blood. v. defines the veneration shown to the sacrament as Divine worship, the *latria* due to the living God alone, and approves of the Corpus Christi festival. vi. approves of the reservation of the sacrament, and bearing it to the sick. vii. requires sacramental confession in preparation for the Eucharist by celebrants when possible as well as by people. viii. distinguishes three modes of reception—sacramental only, spiritual only, and both sacramental and spiritual, and appeals for Christian uniformity in the celebration of the rite.

Session XIV. treats of the Sacraments of Penance (9 chapters and 15 canons) and Extreme Unction (3 chapters and 4 canons). Of Penance, ch. i. sets forth its necessity and institution; ii. its difference from Baptism; iii. its parts and fruit; iv. contrition as containing cessation from sin, the purpose and beginning of a new life and hatred of the old, *attrition* being imperfect contrition, a sense of sin's baseness and dire consequences, a gift of God and impulse of His Spirit not yet resident but truly moving in the sinner; v. confession of venial and mortal sins; vi. the ministry of confession, and absolution; vii. the reservation of special cases of heinous sin to be dealt with by higher clergy; viii. the necessity and fruit of satisfaction or amends; and ix. works of satisfaction. Of Extreme Unction, ch. i. treats of its institution by the Apostle James; ii. of its effect; iii. of the minister who should perform it, and the time.

Session XXI. treats of Communion under both Species, and Communion of little Children. Chapter i. sets forth that laymen, and clergy, when not celebrating, are not bound of Divine right to communion under both species; ii. that it is within the

power of the Church to dispense with that practice; "although the use of both species has from the beginning of the Christian religion not been infrequent," the custom had been already widely changed, and the change for "weighty and just reasons" (not specified) had been sanctioned; iii. that Christ whole and entire, and a true sacrament, are received under either species; iv. that little children before the age of reason are not obliged to the sacramental communion of the Eucharist, having been baptized and incorporated with Christ, and being at that age incapable of losing the grace of their adoption. Infant communion, however, had legitimately been practised in antiquity. Then follow 4 canons, and a reservation to a later date of the question whether particular individuals or nations were to be allowed communion in both kinds.

Session XXII. treats of the Sacrifice of the Mass in 9 chapters and 9 canons. Chapter i. sets forth its institution; ii. that it is propitiatory for both the living and the dead; iii. that Masses in honour of saints are addressed to God, with solicitations of their patronage; iv. the sanctity and uplifting character of the canon of the Mass, composed as it is of the very words of the Lord, the traditions of the Apostles, and the pious institutions also of holy Pontiffs; v. the purpose of the solemn ceremonies associated with the Mass, since "such is the nature of man that without external helps he cannot easily be raised to the meditation of Divine things" —*e.g.* lower or higher tones of voice, lights, incense, vestments, etc., "derived from an Apostolical discipline and tradition, whereby both the majesty of so great a sacrifice might be recommended, and the minds of the faithful be excited, by those visible signs of religion and piety, to the contemplation of those most sublime things which are hidden in this sacrifice"; vi. that form of Mass, wherein the priest alone communicates, is approved, being on behalf of all the Church, though the Council would fain that all present might communicate; vii. that the mixture of water with the wine is enjoined because it is believed that Christ did this, and because the practice commemorates the issue of blood and water from His side, and because in Rev. xvii. 15 the peoples are called waters, and the union of water with the wine represents their union with Christ; viii. that it is not expedient to celebrate Mass everywhere in the vulgar tongue; but, in order that the sheep of Christ may not suffer hunger, or the little ones ask for bread and there be none to break it unto them, pastors are charged frequently to expound

some portion of the things read at Mass, especially on Lord's days and festivals.

Session XXIII. treats of the Sacrament of Order in 4 chapters and 8 canons. Chapter i. sets forth the institution of the Priesthood of the New Law "into which the old has been translated," with the power of consecrating, offering, and administering Christ's body and blood, as also of forgiving and of retaining sins; ii. the Seven Orders—priest, deacon, subdeacon, acolyte, exorcist, lector, and doorkeeper—the four, or five, last being the inferior; iii. that Order is truly and properly a sacrament; iv. the indelibleness of the higher orders, the falsehood of the claim of priesthood for all believers, the principal place of bishops in the hierarchical order as superior to priests, as entrusted exclusively with the Sacrament of Confirmation and Ordination of Priests, without any regard to consent of people or of rulers, whereas "all those who, being only called and instituted by the people, or by the civil power and magistrate, ascend to the exercise of these ministrations, and those who of their own rashness assume them to themselves, are not ministers of the Church, but are to be looked upon as thieves and robbers who have not entered by the door."

Session XXIV. treats of the Sacrament of Matrimony in 1 chapter and 12 canons, setting forth its institution by "the first parent of the human race, under the influence of the Divine Spirit"; its confirmation by Christ; His purchase by death of the grace which should perfect natural love, and confirm that indissoluble union and sanctify the married. The canons condemn the denial of its sacramental character, of the right of the Church to dispense in some of the levitically prohibited degrees or to add to their number, and of the plea of heresy or desertion, or even adultery, as a warrant for divorce; deny the right of the innocent party to marry during the lifetime of the adulterous partner, and the right to break clerical vows of celibacy on any plea; deny the inferiority of celibacy or virginity to marriage, and affirm its superiority, and condemn those who characterize the prohibition of marriages at certain seasons as a tyrannical superstition derived from the superstition of the heathen, and those who say that matrimonial causes do not belong to ecclesiastical judges.

Session XXV. orders right and circumspect teaching regarding Purgatory, the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, Sacred Images, and Indulgences. Abuses of a superstitious, unedifying,

or mercenary nature are to be ended. Saints in heaven are to be invoked to intercede for men with God the Father through Jesus Christ His Son, who is our alone Redeemer and Saviour. No divinity or virtue is believed to reside in images of Christ, the Virgin Mother, and the other saints; but the honour which is shown to them is referred to the prototypes which they represent. In granting indulgences, moderation is to be observed, "lest by excessive facility ecclesiastical discipline be enervated," and "all evil gains for the obtaining thereof,—whence a most prolific cause of abuses amongst the Christian people has been derived," are to be "wholly abolished."

THE ROMAN CREED.

For the purposes of individual confession, the Council of Trent had declared the necessity of a binding "formula of profession and oath" for all dignitaries and teachers of the Church. By order of Pius IV. the *Profession of the Tridentine Faith*, or *Creed of Pius IV.*, was prepared in 1564 by a commission of Cardinals, and was at once made obligatory on the whole *ecclesia docens*. It passed also into general use for Protestant converts to Romanism. Obviously the decrees and canons of the Council were ill suited for such uses. The *Profession* comprises 12 articles, the first containing in full the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed with the Western changes (italicized in the text below), the next 8 containing a short summary of the Tridentine decrees, the last 3 containing new matter, acknowledging the Roman Church as the mother and mistress of all churches, promising on oath obedience to its Bishop as the successor of St. Peter and the vicar of Jesus Christ, accepting the canons and decrees of the Councils, including that of Trent, and promising lifelong adherence by God's help to "this true Catholic faith without which no one can be saved." The Creed is in the first person, and is as follows:[1]

I. I . . . with a firm faith believe and profess all and every one of the things contained in the symbol of faith which the holy Roman Church makes use of, namely—

[1] Tr. Schaff, in *Hist.* pp. 98–99, *Creeds of Gr. and Lat. Churches*, pp. 207–210.

I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible :

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds; *God of God,* Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made ;

who for us men and for our salvation came down from heaven and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man ;

He was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate ; suffered and was buried ;

and the third day He rose again according to the Scriptures ;

and ascended into heaven ; sitteth on the right hand of the Father ;

and He shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead ; whose kingdom shall have no end :

And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, and Giver of life ; who proceedeth from the Father *and the Son* ; who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified ; who spake by the prophets :

and one holy catholic and apostolic Church.

I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins :

and I look for the resurrection of the dead ;

and the life of the world to come. Amen.

II. I most steadfastly admit and embrace the apostolic and ecclesiastical traditions, and all other observances and constitutions of the same Church.

III. I also admit the Holy Scriptures according to that sense which our holy Mother Church has held, and does hold, to which it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Scriptures ; neither will I ever take and interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

IV. I also profess that there are truly and properly seven sacraments of the new law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and necessary for the salvation of mankind, though not all for every one, to wit : baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance and extreme unction, holy orders, and matrimony ; and that they confer grace ; and that of these baptism, confirmation, and ordination cannot be reiterated without sacrilege. I also receive and admit

the received and approved ceremonies of the Catholic Church used in the solemn administration of the aforesaid sacraments.

V. I embrace and receive all and every one of the things which have been defined and declared in the holy Council of Trent concerning original sin and justification.

VI. I profess likewise that in the Mass there is offered to God a true proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrament of the eucharist there is truly really and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there is made a change of the whole essence of the bread into the body, and of the whole essence of the wine into the blood; which change the Catholic Church calls transubstantiation.

VII. I also confess that under either kind alone Christ is received whole and entire, and a true sacrament.

VIII. I firmly hold that there is a purgatory, and that the souls therein detained are helped by the suffrages of the faithful.

Likewise that the saints reigning with Christ are to be honoured and invoked, and that they offer up prayers to God for us; and that their relics are to be held in veneration.

IX. I most firmly assert that the images of Christ and of the perpetual Virgin, the Mother of God, and also of other saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honour and veneration are to be given them.

I also affirm that the power of indulgences was left by Christ in the Church, and that the use of them is most wholesome to Christian people.

X. I acknowledge the holy catholic apostolic Roman Church as the mother and mistress of all churches, and I promise and swear true obedience to the Bishop of Rome as the successor of St. Peter, prince of the Apostles, and as the vicar of Jesus Christ.

XI. I likewise undoubtingly receive and profess all other things delivered defined and declared by the sacred Canons and œcumenical Councils, and particularly by the holy Council of Trent; and I condemn reject and anathematize all things contrary thereto, and all heresies which the Church has condemned, rejected and anathematized.

XII. I do at this present freely profess and truly hold this true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved (*salvus esse*); and I promise most constantly to retain and confess the same entire

and inviolate, with God's assistance, to the end of my life. And I will take care, as far as in me lies, that it shall be held taught and preached by my subjects or by those the care of whom shall appertain to me in my office. This I promise vow and swear :—so help me God, and these holy Gospels of God.

THE ROMAN CATECHISM.

The *Profession of the Tridentine Faith* was followed in 1566 by the elaborate *Roman Catechism*, the preparation of which the Council had at first essayed, but finally handed over to the Pope. In 1564, Pius IV., advised by Cardinal Borromeo of Milan, entrusted the work to a learned and distinguished Commission of four prelates under Borromeo's supervision—Marini, Foscarari, Calini, and the Portuguese Fureiro—who were assisted in matters of style and rendering by eminent Latin scholars. The teaching is Dominican (three of the four Commissioners belonging, as did the Pope, to that order) and Thomist—a feature which ensured for it the opposition of the Jesuit order. It is not meant for the young or for popular reading, but for the equipment of the teaching clergy. It is exceedingly long and comprehensive, but admirably arranged and lucidly expressed. It contains four parts which follow a lengthy introductory treatment of preliminary topics, and treats successively of (1) the Apostles' Creed, (2) the Sacraments, (3) the Ten Commandments, and (4) the Lord's Prayer. It is noteworthy that, while it adds to the Tridentine teaching sections which deal with the *limbus patrum*, the Authority of the Church, and the doctrine of the Church, it omits all reference to Indulgences and the Rosary. Apart from its franker Augustinianism, the Catechism reproduces very faithfully the substance of the Decrees of Trent, whose circumspection and whose massiveness it reflects.[1]

[1] Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 100–102.

OTHER ROMAN STANDARDS OF THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES.

In 1568 appeared, under similar auspices, and with similar authority, the *Breviarium*, and in 1572 the *Missale Romanum*, the devotional and liturgical standards of the Church, which had been preceded in 1564 by the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* proclaiming the censure of the Church on literature heretical in doctrine or dangerous in tendency. A special *Confession of Urban VIII.*, under whose rule (A.D. 1623–1644) Galileo was condemned, was prescribed for use at consecration by Greek and other Bishops in Eastern Churches united to Rome but retaining by special privilege their own rites and usages.

THE PAPAL DECREE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

The long and chequered Papacy of Pius IX. brought with it a fresh stirring of polemic and dogmatic activity which issued in a remarkable series of Papal publications. In 1854, after formal consultation by encyclical letter with the bishops on the propriety of satisfying the desire of the Catholic world for a solemn definition by the Apostolic See of the *Immaculate Conception* of the Virgin Mary, and on the completion of the labours of a special commission and a consistory of consultation, the Pope summoned a great assemblage of prelates to the Basilica of St. Peter, and in their presence, "by authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own," personally proclaimed it to be a doctrine revealed by God

> "that the most blessed Virgin Mary in the first moment of her conception, by a special grace and privilege of Almighty God, out of regard to the merits of Jesus Christ the Saviour of the human race, was preserved immune from all stain of original sin."

By that declaration not only a long course of controversy throughout the history of the Church, but also a long-continued devotional and doctrinal development were

brought to a close, and the silence or doubt of the Fathers and the caution of Trent were replaced by the voice of certainty.

THE SYLLABUS.

In 1864 a Papal *Syllabus of Errors*, eighty in number, was issued with an encyclical, summarizing in ten divisions modern opinions which at various times had been condemned by the Pope: (1) Pantheism, Naturalism, Absolute Rationalism; (2) Moderate Rationalism; (3) Indifferentism, Latitudinarianism; (4) Socialism, Communism, Secret Societies, Bible Societies, Clerico-liberal Societies; errors respecting (5) the Church and her Rights, (6) Civil Society, (7) Natural and Christian Ethics, (8) Christian Matrimony, (9) Civil Principality of the Roman Pontiff, (10) Modern Liberalism.

THE VATICAN DECREES.

In 1870 the Vatican Council, convoked to promote the re-union of Christendom and to cope with modern errors and dangers, accepted and promulgated after revision two 'dogmatic' constitutions: (1) *on the Catholic Faith*, in four chapters, dealing with God as Creator, with Revelation, with Faith, and with Faith and Reason, condemning more fully than in the Syllabus errors of Pantheism, Naturalism, and Rationalism; (2) *on the Church of Christ*, also in four chapters, dealing with the institution of the Apostolic primacy in the blessed Peter, the perpetuity of St. Peter's primacy in the Roman Pontiff, the power and nature of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, and the *infallibility of the Roman Pontiff*. In this second document the absolute finality of the Papal Jurisdiction is affirmed, on pain of anathema, in all matters pertaining alike to faith and morals and to the discipline and government of the Church, and in the form of a Papal decree it is solemnly declared a dogma Divinely revealed that

"the Roman Pontiff when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when in the exercise of his office as Pastor and Teacher of all Christians,

by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority he defines the doctrine on faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, by the Divine assistance promised to him in the blessed Peter, possesses that power of infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be furnished in defining doctrine on faith or morals; and that accordingly such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are of themselves, not from consent of the Church, irreformable: but if, as may God forbid, any one shall presume to gainsay this our definition, let him be anathema."

It was thus the work of Pio Nono to complete the long and patiently evolved system of a constitutional Papal infallibility and autocracy in all matters concerning Christian faith, morals, discipline, and government.

PONTIFICAL DECLARATIONS AGAINST MODERNISM.

Beyond these determinations of the Pope in the Vatican Council it has not been necessary, even if possible, for the Church to proceed in matters of faith. They have been supplemented, however, in detail by a long series of Papal documents condemning 'Modernism' in all its forms. Of the fifteen from April 1907 to Sept. 1910 enumerated and printed by Vermeersch,[1] the most important are these: *The Decree* '*Lamentabili sane exitu*' of the Holy Office, July 1907, condemns sixty-five representative propositions. This *New Syllabus*, as it has been called, anathematizes eight errors concerning the Teaching of the Church, eleven errors concerning the Inspiration, Truth, and Study of the Bible, especially the Gospels, seventeen errors concerning Revelation and Dogma, two errors on the Person of Christ, thirteen errors on the Sacraments, six errors on the Church, its foundation and organization, eight errors on the evolution of Christian Doctrine. The *Encyclical* '*Pascendi*,' of Sept. 1907, follows up the Decree with an analysis and discussion of these errors and the tendency they express: gives them the formal name of 'Modernism': points out their gravely dangerous

[1] *De Modernismo Tractatus*, Bruges, 1910.

character: explains their causes: and enjoins specific remedies, appealing to the Bishops to enforce them rigorously. The *Decree Motu Proprio* of 18th Nov. 1907 sets forth the effect and value of the decisions of the Biblical Commission, and reinforces the *Lamentabili* and *Pascendi*. The *Motu Proprio Sacrorum Antistitum* of 1st Sept. 1910, declared by a *Decree of the Consistorial Congregations* on 25th Sept. 1910, further denounces Modernist evasions and subterfuges, and obliges all "candidates for higher orders, newly appointed confessors, preachers, parish priests, canons, beneficed clergy, the bishop's staff, Lenten preachers, the officials of the Roman Congregations or tribunals, superiors and professors in religious congregations" to swear "according to a formula which reprobates the principal modernist tenets."[1]

ROMAN CATECHISMS AND DOCTRINAL MANUALS.

Although the Vatican Council refused by a large majority to accept the Catechism submitted to it, numerous authorized local catechisms are in circulation for popular use throughout the Roman Catholic world, more or less completely revised to bring them into harmony with the new decrees. Of the older catechisms, besides that of Trent, which was for clerical rather than popular use, those of the learned Jesuit Peter Canisius (A.D. 1554 and 1566) and of Cardinal Bellarmine (A.D. 1603) may be mentioned as having commended themselves especially to Papal as well as to clerical and popular acceptance. Among the most influential and authoritative expositions of Roman Catholic doctrine with an apologetic or polemic purpose are the *Disputationes de Controversiis Christianæ fidei adversus huius Temporis hereticos* of Robert Bellarmine (A.D. 1587–1590), the *Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Église Catholique sur les matières de Controverse* of Bossuet (A.D. 1671), the *Symbolik* of J. A. Möhler (A.D. 1832), and the *Prælectiones Theologicæ* of the Jesuit Perrone (A.D. 1835 ff.).

[1] Vermeersch, art. "Modernism," in the *Cath. Encycl.*, vol. x.

II. IN THE OLD-CATHOLIC CHURCHES.

To the rule of history that each great successive formulation of œcumenical doctrine has been the occasion of, or has perpetuated, a corresponding schism of the Church, the work of the latest Roman General Council of 1870 was no exception. Its distinctive decrees were received under protest by many of the participants (especially German, French, English, and North American representatives), and led finally to the formation in Bavaria and elsewhere in Germany of the Old-Catholic Church,[1] loyal to the doctrinal Canons of Trent and earlier standards, and occupying a position similar to that of the earlier secession of the Church of Utrecht which took place in protest against the Papal claims embodied in the bull *Unigenitus* condemning Jansenist views in 1713.

Reference has already been made to the Old-Catholic Conferences at Bonn in 1874 and 1875 between representatives of the Græco-Russian, Anglican, and Old-Catholic Churches, at the former of which *Fourteen Theses* were agreed upon as a possible basis of Catholic re-union, dealing with the Canon and Apocrypha, the Text and Translations of Scripture, the Use of the Vernacular in Scripture and in liturgy, Justification through Faith working by Love, Salvation not by Merit, Works of Supererogation, Number of Sacraments, Scripture and Tradition, Succession of Anglican Orders, Immaculate Conception of Mary, Public and Private Confession, Indulgences, Prayers for the Dead, the Mass; and at the latter, *Six Theses* accepting the œcumenical Symbols and decisions of the undivided Church of the first six centuries, and in particular the Eastern doctrine of the procession of the Spirit "from the Father through the Son."

Old-Catholic Churches also exist in Switzerland, Austria, France, and America, while in Mexico, in Spain and Portu-

[1] For Old-Catholic doctrine: Schaff, *History of Creeds*, pp. 191–202, *Creeds of Gr. and Lat. Churches*, p. 545 ff.; Loofs, i. p. 407 ff.; Hauck-Herzog, *Realencycl.*, art. "Altkatholizismus."

gal, and in Italy, "Reformed Catholic" Churches have been established in great measure by means of Anglican support and on the Anglican model professing a markedly Protestant type of doctrine.[1]

[1] See Loofs, i. 412 ff.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONFESSIONS IN THE CHURCHES OF THE REFORMATION.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

BENEATH the rigorously smoothed and levelled surface of mediæval Christendom there lay but thinly covered the fruitful seeds of the various outgrowths of the Reformation. It is easy now to discern how far-reaching was the doctrinal and practical preparation for the great movement. For centuries before the crisis was reached, over against the demand of the Roman Curia that all learning and all thought, as well as all political and ecclesiastical life, should be organized in subjection to it, influences had been at work to stimulate freedom of thought and action. Even Scholasticism, ready though it was to buttress up the Papal claims and dogmas by propositions, argument, and learning, had its opposing schools, its heresies, its impulses to make men think. The guilds in the great industrial and commercial cities, and the growing national sentiment in many lands, fostered a sense of independence and of personal dignity. Here and there, though without authorization, the Scriptures had been turned into the vernacular and read with eager curiosity, provoking, as they have always done, personal reflection and untrammelled conviction. The Mystics, with their personal intimacy with the Unseen and their devotional confidence and freedom, and on the other hand the Humanists, with their knowledge of an old world new found, pointed men in the same direction. It was inevitable that, together with the sensitive conscience's

fierce revolt against ecclesiastical abuses and immoralities, there should also come into being an attitude of mind as critical towards those mediæval accretions to the Church's doctrine with which the abuses had been bound up.

Long before the Reformation crisis, particular current opinions extraneous to the great Creeds and to the general spirit of Scripture had been singled out or massed in groups for discussion and hostile criticism. There was no disposition to debate afresh the problems which had found dogmatic solution in the Œcumenical Councils. Not the Person and Work of Christ or of the Holy Spirit, not the doctrine of the Divine Trinity, but the doctrines of the means of grace, Church, Ministry, Sacraments, and Scripture, of the processes involved in personal salvation, and of the use of mediators other than the Son of God, were the themes at issue. With the Old Creeds the new thinkers, almost without exception, had no controversy, but were amply satisfied; and when occasion arose for them to gather into confessions the doctrine to which they adhered, it was their first care to express their loyalty to the ancient standards of Christendom. Both of the Reformation and of the Pre-Reformation Confessions it is true that they were advanced for didactic and apologetic purposes rather than as creeds, and that they were subordinated not only to the Word of God in Canonical Scripture, but also to the Catholic Creeds. According to the accepted academic procedure of the age, serious difference of theological opinion issued naturally in the formulation of a series of controversial propositions which embodied the moot points, and were flung out as a challenge to the champions of the learned world for debate in intellectual tournaments or disputations. Luther's Theses nailed upon the church-door at Wittenberg were only one in a long series, earlier and later, of academic invitations to serious argument; but to the pedantries of conventional disputation he brought a biting mother-wit and a passionate earnestness as well as a scholar's learning, and he was among the very first to discover and to wield

the power of the pamphlet and the printing press in religious controversy. Both the Wyclifite and the Lutheran reformation-movements began with the fearless publication of propositions, theses, or 'places,' dealing not with the whole system of Christian doctrine, but with the topics involved in prevailing religious abuses. Only later, as the rift grew wider between the forces of reaction and reform, did it become necessary to round off in systematic form the theological opinions of Protestants; but rarely, if ever, was it the case that equal care and space were given to controversial and to non-controversial matter of faith. It is, in truth, a general defect in the Creeds and the Confessions of Christendom, viewed as systems of truth, that from the circumstances of their formation they have suffered distortion in varying degrees, and present a lack of internal proportion and perspective which is due to polemical or other exigencies. They all bear the marks of their birth-time and birth-place, and it is to the distinctive and often transitory features in them that they draw our chief attention. It is unjust to judge them without regard to their origin and their purpose. Few, if any, of them were fair-weather or leisurely productions laid out for academic criticism or appreciation. Many of them were the work of hunted outlawed men, and were sealed with martyr blood. They were literally *extempore*.

PRE-REFORMATION ARTICLES, CONFESSIONS, AND CATECHISMS.

Although it is scarcely possible to point to Confessions in the pre-Reformation centuries which correspond very closely to those of the succeeding age, it is abundantly evident that the leaven of reform in church and doctrine was actively at work. Whether, as among the Albigenses and Cathari, the bounds of ancient Catholic orthodoxy were exceeded, or, as among the followers of Waldo, were observed, there was a wide-spread and steadily increasing reluctance from the ninth to the fifteenth century to

acquiesce in the traditionalism, the Papal supremacy, and the crude sacramentalism of the Church. In the North of Italy, in the South of France, in Bohemia, and as far north as in Britain, there was a strong revulsion of feeling and interest towards a Scriptural simplicity in doctrine, worship, church organization and life. Almost all the heresies and sects that disturbed the peace of Church and State appealed from Pope and Councils to Scripture and common sense, and advocated some form of Scriptural puritanism. Though reform within the Church was the invariable object of their protests, persecution and despair combined to drive them more or less out of the Roman communion, and their articles of reform became articles of schism and secession. From the ninth century onwards, the sacraments, especially the Lord's Supper, were a continual subject of controversy; theses or articles were unceasingly advanced and retracted or condemned concerning their number, meaning, administration, and effect. Similarly, questions regarding Scripture, church-government and authority, access of believers to God, the place of works in justification, were constantly agitating men's minds. It was an age of discussion and debate, and the same instinct which prompted the Papacy to assert itself and steadily aggrandize its own authority led national Churches and gifted individuals alike to resent it and proclaim their own mind in turn; but it was manifestly an age of strenuous search for truth in thought and right in life. Naturally, the same age that produced the Schoolmen called also for the Inquisition. Confessions of faith in such a time tended to be individual and partial; often they were drawn up by persecutors as counts of an indictment for heresy, and, when accepted by the accused, were sealed by condemnation and death. The articles of faith were articles of martyrdom. But, as the movement for reform gained adherents, the time approached when the work of Waldo, Wyclif, and Hus should issue not only in definite church formation, but also in the framing of extended Confessions.

THE CONFESSIONAL MOVEMENT IN THE REFORMED CHURCH.

Viewed generally, the Confessional literature of Reformed Christendom falls into four broadly defined periods.

i. *Before* A.D. 1500, over a wide area theses, articles, and simple catechisms make their appearance in South-Eastern France, in Northern Italy, in Bohemia, Moravia, Germany, and England, connected with the simple religious needs of Bible-loving fraternities, protesting within the Church against practical abuses, and valuing doctrine according as it ministered directly to the interests of personal communion with God in Christ through the Holy Spirit, and according as it harmonized with the plain teaching of Holy Writ and especially the New Testament.

ii. *In the sixteenth century* massive confessions expressed the deliberate conclusions of spiritual leaders and Biblical scholars, fortified by the new learning, and shocked by the unhindered moral abuses of the Roman Church, who spoke for the religious life of their nations. Saxony, Switzerland, France, Holland, and Britain led the way, each evolving a confessional as well as an ecclesiastical and liturgical system of its own, in different degrees at variance with the old order and in partial harmony with one another, each gravely influenced by the civil polity and mental characteristics of its own people. The civil power, as it had powerfully aided the Reformation, powerfully influenced the confessional thought and utterance of each of the national churches—most of all in monarchical Germany and England, where rulers held the earthly headship of the national Churches ; least of all in republican Switzerland, and in the Scotland which John Knox theocratically dominated and instructed in the duty of sovereigns to the Church. The great Confessions of the Reformation, apart from the Socinian Catechism, however they may differ on things pertaining to the relation between Church and State, and on the precise interpretation of the words of institution of the Lord's Supper, stand in close fellowship on the general doctrines of Scripture, of salvation, of God's Saving Purpose,

and of the means of Grace. The sixteenth century is the golden age of Reformed Confessions: where they differ from each other it is in the fresh exuberance of spontaneous conviction, not for argument's sake, nor in any spirit of narrow-minded criticism.

iii. *In the seventeenth century*, Lutheranism and Anglicanism and Zwinglianism are quiescent, like Romanism, but Calvinism in Northern Europe and in the New World is feverishly active, carrying its system through controversy to its final consequences in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, England, Scotland, and Ireland; and Baptist, Independent, and Quaker formularies are issued.

iv. After the confessional silence of the eighteenth century, during which the price of scholastic and polemic controversy had to be paid in reaction and in doubt and in indifference, and philosophical speculation and scientific investigation preoccupied men's minds, the Methodist revival ushered in a new era of doctrinal activity for all the Churches. *During the nineteenth century*, in every Protestant country there has been confessional unrest. The accepted articles have been re-discussed, revised, or superseded. New organizations, great and small, have sprung up, especially in Britain and America, each with its more or less elastic nucleus of distinctive doctrine. Denominations long divided by suspicion and misunderstanding have simplified their tenets in the spirit of a new conception of Biblical Truth, and under the influence of a new catholicity of outlook upon the Christian and the heathen worlds. The twentieth century has opened with unmistakable signs of confessional vitality and reconstructive energy and ambition, and it approaches the work with an apparatus of historical and Biblical learning, with an accumulation of practical and speculative experience, with a candour and tolerance, such as no preceding age has ever possessed for its equipment. From its scrutiny and valuation, not even the Catholic Creeds are exempt, for it is conscious that it has won its way to a standpoint, from which to view the Bible in historical and spiritual

perspective, which their formulators had never reached. To the new learning of our era, it is certain, a fresh Reformation of Christian doctrine will succeed, from which the faith will emerge disencumbered of many of the centuries' accretions, in preparation for its final missionary progress throughout the whole world.

CHAPTER IX.

CONFESSIONS IN THE WALDENSIAN, BOHEMIAN, AND MORAVIAN CHURCHES.

THE Confessional documents of the Waldensian, Bohemian, and Moravian fraternities are, like the societies themselves, so closely bound up that they may fitly be grouped together.[1] They form a long series preceding as well as following the Reformation, and share with Baptist or Anabaptist documents the distinction of exhibiting the longest Protestant descent.

WALDENSIAN AND BOHEMIAN CONFESSIONS.

How soon after the origination of the Waldensian movement in the twelfth century definite articles of faith were current we cannot say, but already in the fourteenth century we find evidence of the use of Articles of Faith and a brief catechism of Christian doctrine and morals. Like other literary products of the movement, these seem to have been long preserved orally, and committed to writing in the fifteenth century. Of that date we possess copies of a group of seven Articles of Faith in God, and of a simple catechism current among the Old Waldensians of France and Spain containing seven paragraphs on the Godhead, seven on Man, the Ten Commandments, and the Seven Works of Mercy. During the fifteenth century the simpler Waldensian and the more theological Hussite move-

[1] General Literature.—Schaff, *Hist. of Creeds*, pp. 565–580, 874–881, *Creeds of Evang. Prot. Churches*, pp. 757–770, 799–806; Hauck-Herzog, *PRE*, artt. "Waldenser," "Huss," "Böhmische Brüder," "Zinzendorf"; Kurtz, *Ch. Hist.*, Eng. tr. 1890, vols. ii. and iii.; works by Palacky, Loserth, C. U. Hahn, Dieckhoff, and von Zezschwitz.

ments coalesced, and gave rise to writings in the Romance and Bohemian languages whose inter-relations are difficult to analyze. To *c.* 1410, and to Hus himself, Palacky assigns an early Hussite Catechism. To 1431 belongs the *Confessio Taboritarum* of the most resolute followers of Hus, who rejected all doctrine and usage not sanctioned in Scripture. Especially interesting are the kindred and much-used *Waldensian and Bohemian Catechisms*, vivid, shrewd, homely, and spiritual in their dialogue. The former, "The Smaller Questions," contains fifty-seven questions and answers, is earlier than 1490, follows the division—Faith, Hope, and Love—adopted in Augustine's *Enchiridion*, and includes the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; the latter, perhaps the work of Lucas of Prague, and first printed *c.* 1521, asks and answers seventy-five questions in very similar terms, adding the Beatitudes and other matter. While adhering to the simplicity of Scripture and the Apostles' Creed, and permeated by the reforming spirit, they come short of distinctive Reformation theology, *e.g.* in reference to the number of the sacraments (two "necessary," the other five "less necessary"), and to justification. From 1467 to 1671 no fewer than thirty-four Bohemian Confessions are known to have been framed.[1] In 1503, just fifty years after the overthrow of the Hussites of Tabor, the rallied and reviving "Unity of Brethren" (Bohemian, Moravian, and refugee Waldensian) submitted to Vladislav II., king of Bohemia, a Confession of their Faith rejecting the Worship of Saints, Purgatory, and Transubstantiation, and urging a symbolical doctrine of the Supper. In 1511 they submitted a Confession to Erasmus for his judgment, but without result. From the time of Luther's revolt they came in all their branches more and more into connexion and fellowship with the Reformers, Lutherans and Calvinists, and at last took their place in doctrine as in polity among the Protestant Churches. In 1532, under Lutheran influence, they tendered a Confession to George, Margrave

[1] Schaff, *Hist. of Creeds*, p. 578.

of Brandenburg, with a preface by Luther himself commending their doctrine apart from certain aspects of their sacramental views. Their revised Confession to Ferdinand I. in 1535, purged of the obnoxious teaching on re-baptism, and modified in regard to justification and clerical celibacy, was cordially approved by Luther, and accepted as a basis of full fellowship. It contained an apologetic preface and twenty articles resembling the Augsburg Confession; it was issued in Bohemian and Latin, and is known as the *First Bohemian Confession*. In 1575 the Protestant Churches of Bohemia, whether Lutheran or Calvinist in sympathy, united by the common menace of Rome, drew up the *Second Bohemian Confession*, which in conjunction with the First superseded all the rest of the thirty-four Confessions credited to Bohemia during the two centuries after 1467. The Second Bohemian Confession, addressed to Maximilian II., contains twenty-five articles embodying the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession modified in harmony with the Calvinistic and Moravian teaching, and closely approximating to Melanchthon's later sacramental theory.

In 1655, during the cruel massacre, the Piedmontese Waldensians adopted and sent out the *Waldensian Confession*, which is based upon, and in part abridged from, the French Reformed Confession of 1559 by Calvin.[1] In 1885 the Confession was re-affirmed by the present Waldensian Church in Synod.

MORAVIAN CONFESSIONS.

Although in Bohemia no resuscitation of the ancient *national* Protestantism has been permitted, and the allegiance of Protestants is divided between Lutheranism and the Calvinism of the Heidelberg Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession, the old *Unitas Fratrum* has been continuously represented on German soil by the Moravian Brethren, who own the authority of no Confession in a

[1] See p. 224 below.

strict sense, and cherish a personal rather than a theological devotion, being ready to recognize and enter into fellowship with the devout of all denominations. They were able cordially to accept the Confession of Augsburg as in sufficient harmony with their own and the "Reformed" doctrine, and, indeed, Spangenberg in the preface to his *Idea Fidei Fratrum* (Eng. ed. 1784), a weighty exposition of their belief, affirms that that Confession has been and will remain theirs. For light upon their doctrine one may with confidence turn to their impressive "*Easter Litany*" (A.D. 1749), and to the "*Summary*" of their faith as centring in the Incarnation and Atonement of Christ in the six articles issued by the Synod of 1869. Reference may also be made to Bishop Schweinitz's "Compendium of Doctrine," in seventeen articles drawn from the authorized "Manual" of the Church, to the "Catechism of Christian Doctrine for the Instruction of Youth in the Church of the United Brethren," and the "Epitome of Christian Doctrine for the Instruction of Candidates for Confirmation."

THE MORAVIAN CONFESSION OF FAITH.

The beautiful Confession which is embodied in the Easter Litany or Liturgy has undergone numerous modifications in detail.[1] In the process it has parted with not a little of its quaint and touching old German sentiment and phrasing, though it has gained in brevity and in accord with modern thought and feeling. The form newly arranged and approved for English use, A.D. 1911, may be given as an adequate representative of its essential contents. It is appointed to be used on the first Sunday in Advent, Easter Day, Trinity Sunday, and other occasions.

I believe in the one only God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who created all things, and was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.

[1] See also German Text and English Translation of older form by de Schweinitz, in Schaff, *Creeds of Evang. Prot. Churches*, pp. 799–806.

Glory be to thee, O Lord most high.

I believe in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who chose us in him before the foundation of the world;

Who delivered us out of the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of the Son of his love;

Who hath blessed us with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places in Christ;

Who made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light; having foreordained us unto adoption as sons through Jesus Christ unto himself according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace, which he freely bestowed on us in the Beloved.

In Him I verily believe.

I believe in the only-begotten Son of God, by whom are all things, and we through him;

Who became flesh, and dwelt among us;

And took on him the form of a servant; Jesus of Nazareth the Son of Man.

He was tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin.

He spake that which he did know, and bare witness of that which he had seen;

As many as received him, to them gave he the right to become children of God.

Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world; suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, and the third day rose again from the dead.

He ascended into heaven and sitteth at the right-hand of the Father, whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

This is my Lord, who redeemed me, a lost and undone human creature, purchased and gained me from sin, from death, and from the power of the devil; not with gold or silver, but with his holy, precious blood, and with his innocent suffering and dying; to the end that I should be his own, and in his kingdom live under him, and serve him in eternal righteousness, innocence, and happiness; even as he, being risen from the dead, liveth and reigneth, world without end.

In Him I verily believe.

I believe in the Holy Ghost, who proceedeth from the Father, and whom our Lord Jesus Christ sent, after he went away, that he should be our Comforter, and abide with us for ever;

That he should help our infirmity, and make intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered; that he should bear witness with our spirit, that we are children of God, and teach us to cry, Abba, Father;

That he should shed abroad in our hearts the love of God;

And make our bodies his holy temple;

And that he should work in us the will of God, dividing his gifts to each one even as he will;

In Him I verily believe.

To God be glory in the Church which is in Christ Jesus, the holy universal Christian Church, in the communion of saints, at all times, and from eternity to eternity. Amen.

CHAPTER X.

CONFESSIONS IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCHES.

EARLY LUTHERAN STANDARDS.

THOUGH not in themselves a confession in any general sense, the 95 Theses of Martin Luther at Wittenberg in 1517 against the theory and practice of Indulgences co-operated with his famous disputations (*e.g.* at Heidelberg, A.D. 1518; at Leipzig, A.D. 1519), and with his powerful tracts, in precipitating Confessional formulations.[1] The Theses, Disputations, and Tracts had reference only to restricted doctrines, but their immediate effect was to provoke heart-searching revision of the whole current system of doctrine in so far as it contained accretions to the ancient Catholic Creeds. In this revisory work Luther found in Philip Melanchthon an invaluable and, indeed, an indispensable fellow-worker, one whose doctrinal system had found mature expression in the *Loci Communes* so early as 1521. If Luther's eagle eye pierced the forest of mediæval error, and if Luther's sinewy arms cleared the ground, it was Melanchthon's gift and task to lay

[1] GENERAL LITERATURE.—In addition to the standard Histories of the Reformation and of Christian Doctrine (among the latter, esp. HARNACK, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr.), reference may be made to SCHAFF, *Hist. of Creeds*, (ch. vi. with detailed authorities) and *Creeds of Evangelical Prot. Churches* (for the most important texts, viz., Luther's Small Catechism, the Augsburg Conf., the Concord Formula [Epitome], and Saxon Visitation Articles); J. F. MÜLLER, *Die Symb. Bücher der evang. luth. Kirche*, 3rd ed., Stuttg. 1869; HASE, *Libri Symbolici Eccles. Evang.*, 1827, 1845, etc.; A. and S. HENKEL, *The Christian Book of Concord*, 2nd ed. 1854 (complete tr. from German); KÖLLNER, *Symbolik der luth. Kirche*, 1837; KRAUTH, *The Conservative Reformation and its Theology*, 1871; WINER, *Confessions of Christendom*. Also valuable detailed articles in HAUCK-HERZOG, *Realencycl.*, 3rd ed., on the various documents.

the foundations of Lutheran doctrine, massive, clear-cut, stable, and true. Each was the other's needed complement. Together they achieved a single work, than which a greater could hardly be conceived, the German Reformation. Their mutual understanding and their spiritual fellowship form one of the finest episodes and noblest features of that great movement.

It was in 1529 that Luther entered upon the work of doctrinal formulation. His first care was to provide for the spiritual wants of the neglected common people, especially for the young. A few catechetical works for the young and the unlearned had been prepared by monks in the Middle Ages. The Waldensian and Bohemian Reformers had made notable use of similar manuals prepared according to their distinctive views, and in 1523 a copy of one of these in Latin was presented to Luther. Luther himself had written a popular exposition of the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue as early as 1518. Catechisms had been published by such Reformers as Urbanus Regius, Lonicer, Melanchthon, Brentius, and Lachmann, between 1520 and 1528. But Luther's *Smaller Catechism*, or *Enchiridion*, immediately attained a position and acceptance which not only placed it far above all its forerunners, but entitled it to rank as a Confession. It was preceded in the same year, 1529, by the "Larger Catechism," a looser and less happy work, which was, indeed, not strictly a catechism at all, but an exposition too long for a popular manual—which served, however, to guide and prepare its author for his still more congenial task, the composition of the *Enchiridion*. In delightfully homely and yet impressive questions and answers it expounds (1) the Decalogue, (2) the Apostles' Creed, (3) the Lord's Prayer, (4) the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, (5) the Sacrament of the Altar—the same succession of subjects which the Bohemian Brethren had made familiar in their Catechisms.

THE FORERUNNERS OF THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

The *Fifteen Articles of the Marburg Conference*, A.D. 1529, were drawn up by Luther after the memorable discussion in which Melanchthon and he represented the German Reformers, Zwingli and Œcolampadius the Swiss, in an effort to establish a doctrinal understanding and concordat between the Reformed Churches. Articles i.–xiv., on the Trinity, Incarnation, Life of Christ, Original Sin (on which the harmony was partial), Redemption, Justification by Faith, Work of the Holy Spirit by Word and Sacraments, Baptism, Good Works the Fruit of Faith, Confession and Absolution, Civil Authority, Tradition, Necessity of Infant Baptism, were agreed upon without difficulty. Article xv. was left incomplete, through disagreement on the meaning of the words "Hoc est corpus meum," in the form of three propositions: (1) the Eucharist ought to be received in both kinds; (2) the Sacrifice of the Mass is inadmissible; (3) the Sacrament of the Altar is a sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, and the partaking of it is salutary. It was a happier omen for the future of Protestantism, only now being realized, that the words were added: "And, although we are not at this time agreed as to whether the true Body and Blood of Christ are physically present in the bread and wine, we recommend that either party manifest a Christian love to the other, so far as the conscience of every man shall permit, and that both parties entreat Almighty God to confirm us by His Spirit in the right doctrine. Amen."

A fortnight later the Marburg Articles were revised and enlarged, and presented as the *Seventeen Articles of Schwabach* at a gathering of Lutheran princes and representatives in that town, and were followed by the supplementary *Articles of Torgau* (March 1530), drawn up by Luther, Melanchthon, Jonas, and Bugenhagen, for the Elector of Saxony, with a view to presentation in the interests of Catholic re-union at the forthcoming

Diet at Augsburg. The Articles of Marburg or Schwabach are pacific and positive, in accordance with the conciliatory purpose of the conference from which they issued; the Torgau Articles are polemical against abuses and controversial in tone, dealing with clerical marriage, communion in both kinds, the Mass, confession, invocation of saints, faith's superiority to works, etc.; together they form the basis of the first and second portions respectively of the great *Augsburg Confession* of 1530, the supreme declaration and literary monument of the German Reformation.

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

Luther's enforced absence, under ban, from the Diet, threw upon Melanchthon the entire responsibility for the formal composition of the Augsburg Confession; but, apart from the fact that the constituent articles of Marburg and Torgau were essentially Luther's, Melanchthon was fresh from prolonged conference with him, was in constant correspondence with him, and was by temper, scholarship, and insight uniquely fitted to represent him. Luther inspired, if Melanchthon arranged and wrote. The theology belongs to both. When a draft was submitted to Luther for revision, he could write to the Elector: "It pleases me very well, and I know of nothing by which I could better it or change it, nor would it be becoming, for I cannot move so softly and gently." Indeed, in a letter to Jonas he dubbed it "the softly stepping Apology," and was inclined to complain of its leniency or silence on the subject of purgatory, saint-worship, and the Papal antichrist. Apart from these matters, the "Augustana" is the classical statement of Lutheran doctrine, and has remained to the present day the bond between all Lutheran Churches. Its dignified simplicity, its temperate tone, and its Christian spirit have endeared it to successive generations, and have made it the model as well as the mother of later Confessions. Portions of it have become obsolete. The piety and thought it has fostered have

outgrown their original vestments. But its profound loyalty to the best traditions of the Catholic Church and the great Fathers, its faithfulness to Scripture, none the less impressive because it is unlaboured and unobtrusive, and its deep note of evangelical experience, have secured for it a sacred place, perhaps beyond all other Confessions, in the living faith of its ministers and people. The *twenty-one articles* of its first part state the main doctrines held by Lutherans: (1) in common with Roman Catholics, the doctrine of the Catholic Creeds; (2) in common with Augustinians, against Pelagianism and Donatism; (3) in opposition to Romanists, on Justification by Faith, the exclusive mediatorship of Christ, Church, ministry, and rites; and (4) in distinction from Zwinglians and Anabaptists (the former are not named), upon the meaning and administration of the sacraments, on confession, and on the millennium. The *seven articles* of the second part condemn the chief Roman abuses: (1) withholding the cup; (2) compulsory celibacy of clergy; (3) the Mass a sacrifice; (4) compulsory confession; (5) festivals and fasts; (6) monastic vows; (7) secular domination by bishops, to the spiritual disadvantage and corruption of the Church.

The motto of the Confession is Ps. cxix. 46 (in the Vulgate), —*And I . . . spake of thy testimonies in the sight of kings, and was not ashamed.* The Preface, a formal and wordy address to the Emperor, is not from the pen of Melanchthon but from that of Brück, the Saxon Chancellor, who also composed the Epilogue.

CONTENTS OF PART I.

Article I., *of God,* affirms the Nicene doctrine, explains that "person" means, not a part or quality, but "that which properly subsists," and condemns ancient and recent heresies.

Article II., *of Original Sin,* teaches that, "since Adam's fall, all men begotten after the common course of nature are born with sin, that is, without the fear of God, without trust in

Him, and with fleshly appetite; and that this disease or original fault is truly sin, condemning and bringing eternal death now also upon all that are not born again by baptism and the Holy Spirit"; and condemns "the Pelagians and others who deny this original fault to be sin indeed, and who, to lessen the glory of the merits and benefits of Christ, argue that a man may by the strength of his own reason be justified before God."

Article III., *of the Son of God*, expands slightly the language of the Apostles' Creed.

Article IV. thus sets forth *Justification*: — "Men cannot be justified before God by their own powers, merits, or works, but are justified freely for Christ's sake through faith, when they believe that they are received into favour and their sins forgiven for Christ's sake, who by His death hath satisfied for our sins. This faith doth God impute for righteousness before him (Rom. iii. and iv.)."

Article V. sets forth *the Ministry of the Church* for the securing of that faith through the Holy Spirit, and condemns the Anabaptists.

Article VI., of *New Obedience*, teaches that "this faith should bring forth good fruits, and that men ought to do the good works commanded of God, because it is God's will, and not for any confidence of meriting justification before God by their works. For remission of sins and justification is apprehended by faith, as also the voice of Christ witnesseth: *When ye have done all these things say, We are unprofitable servants.*"

Article VII. teaches that *the Church* "is the congregation of saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught, and the Sacraments rightly administered: unto the true unity of the Church it is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments: nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies instituted by men should be alike everywhere; as St. Paul saith: *There is one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all.*"

Article VIII., *What the Church is*, says: "It is lawful to use the Sacraments administered by evil men, according to the voice of Christ (Matt. xxiii. 2), *The scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat*, etc. The Sacraments and the Word are

effectual by reason of the institution and commandment of Christ, though they be delivered by evil men."

Article IX., *of Baptism*, teaches that it is necessary to salvation, and that children by it are offered to God and received into His favour; and condemns the Anabaptists.

Article X., *of the Lord's Supper*, affirms that "the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present, and are communicated to those that eat in the Lord's Supper"; but makes no attempt to explain how they are related to the elements—a remarkable silence illustrative perhaps of the reluctance of the Lutheran leaders at this time to formulate any new doctrine which would make their breach with Rome irreparable.

Article XI., *of Confession*, teaches that "private absolution be retained, though enumeration of all offences be not necessary in Confession. For it is impossible, according to the Psalm, xix. 12, *Who can understand his errors?*"

Article XII. *Repentance* is said to "consist of these two parts: — one is contrition, or terrors stricken into the conscience by the recognition of sin; the other is faith, which is conceived by the Gospel or by absolution, and doth believe that for Christ's sake sins be forgiven, and comforteth the conscience and freeth it from terrors. Then should follow good works, which are fruits of repentance." Therefore the Anabaptists and the Novatians are condemned.

Article XIII., *of the Use of Sacraments*, says they "were ordained, not only to be marks of profession among men, but rather that they should be signs and testimonies of the will of God towards us, set forth unto us to stir up and confirm faith in such as use them"; they do not justify *ex opere operato*.

Article XIV., *of Ecclesiastical Orders*, teaches "that no man should publicly in the Church teach or administer the Sacraments, except he be duly called."

Article XV., *of Ecclesiastical Rites*, sets forth that "those only are to be observed which may be observed without sin, and are profitable for tranquillity and good order in the Church; such as are set holidays, feasts, and such like. Yet concerning such things, men are to be admonished that consciences are not to be burdened as if such service were necessary to salvation. They are also to be admonished that human

traditions, instituted to propitiate God, to merit grace, and to make satisfaction for sins, are opposed to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith. Wherefore vows and traditions concerning foods and days, and such like, instituted to merit grace and make satisfaction for sins, are useless and contrary to the Gospel."

Article XVI., *of Civil Affairs*, teaches that "such civil ordinances as are lawful are good works of God; Christians may lawfully bear civil office, sit in judgments, determine matters by the imperial laws . . . appoint just punishments, engage in just war, act as soldiers, make legal bargains and contracts, hold property, take an oath when the magistrates require it, marry a wife or be given in marriage." It condemns the Anabaptists who forbid Christians these civil offices, also "those who place the perfection of the Gospel, not in the fear of God and in faith, but in forsaking civil offices, inasmuch as the Gospel teacheth an everlasting righteousness of the heart." . . . "Christians must necessarily obey their magistrates and laws, save only when they command any sin; for then they must rather obey God than men (Acts v. 29)."

Article XVII., *of Christ's Return to Judgment*, condemns "the Anabaptists who think that to condemned men and devils there shall be an end of torments; others also who now scatter Jewish opinions that, before the resurrection of the dead, the godly shall occupy the kingdom of the world, the wicked being everywhere suppressed."

Article XVIII., *of Free Will*, affirms "that man's will hath some liberty to work a civil righteousness, and to choose such things as reason can reach unto; but that it hath no power to work the righteousness of God, or a spiritual righteousness, without the Spirit of God; because the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God (1 Cor. ii. 14). But this is wrought in the heart when men do receive the Spirit of God through the Word." Augustine is quoted in support, and Pelagian opinions are condemned.

Article XIX. *teaches* that "although God doth create and preserve nature, *the Cause of Sin* is the will of the wicked, to wit, of the devil and ungodly men."

Article XX., *of Good Works*, repudiates the charge that Lutherans forbid good works: "Their writings extant upon the

Ten Commandments bear witness that they have taught to good purpose concerning every kind of life and its duties. . . . Of which things preachers in former times taught little or nothing; only they urged certain childish and needless works, as keeping of holidays, set fasts, fraternities, pilgrimages, worshippings of saints, rosaries, monkeries, and such like things. Whereof our adversaries having had warning, they do now unlearn them, and do not preach concerning these unprofitable works as they were wont. Besides they begin now to make mention of faith, concerning which there was formerly a deep silence. They teach that we are not justified by works alone; but they conjoin faith and works, and say we are justified by faith and works. Which doctrine is more tolerable than the former one, and can afford more consolation. . . . Therefore our divines have thus admonished the churches:—(1) Our works cannot reconcile God, or deserve remission of sins, grace, and justification at His hands, but these we obtain by faith only, when we believe that we are received into favour for Christ's sake, who alone is appointed the Mediator and Propitiatory, by whom the Father is reconciled. He therefore that trusteth by his works to merit grace, doth despise the merit and grace of Christ, and seeketh by his own power to come to the Father without Christ: whereas Christ hath expressly said of Himself, *I am the way, the truth, and the life* (John xiv. 6). This doctrine is handled by Paul almost everywhere:—*By grace ye are saved through faith, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God, not of works* (Eph. ii. 8, 9). Augustine doth in many volumes defend grace, and the righteousness of faith, against the merit of works. The like doth Ambrose teach in his book, *de Vocatione Gentilium* and elsewhere. . . . Godly and trembling consciences find by experience that this doctrine bringeth very great comfort . . . as St. Paul teacheth, *being justified by faith, we have peace with God* (Rom. v. 1). This doctrine doth wholly belong to the conflict of a troubled conscience, and cannot be understood but where the conscience hath felt that conflict. Wherefore all such as have had no experience thereof, and all that are profane men, who dream that Christian righteousness is naught else but a civil and philosophical righteousness, are poor judges of this matter. Formerly men's consciences were vexed with the doctrine of

works; they did not hear any comfort out of the Gospel. Whereupon conscience drove some into the desert, into monasteries, hoping there to merit grace by a monastical life. . . . There was very great need therefore to teach and renew this doctrine. . . . (2) The name of faith doth not only signify a knowledge of the history, which may be in the wicked, and in the devil, but a faith which believeth also the effect of the history, that by Christ we have grace, righteousness, and remission of sins. (3) It is necessary to do good works . . . because it is the will of God that we should do them. . . . And, because the Holy Spirit is received by faith, our hearts are now renewed, and so put on new affections that they are able to bring forth good works. . . . Without faith the nature of man can by no means perform the works of the First or Second Table. Without faith it cannot call upon God, hope in God, bear the Cross; but seeketh help from man, and trusteth in man's help. So it cometh to pass that all lusts and human counsels bear sway in the heart so long as faith and trust in God are absent. Wherefore also Christ saith, *Without me ye can do nothing* (John xv. 5), and the Church singeth, 'Without thy power is naught in man, naught that is innocent.'"

Article XXI., *of the Worship of Saints*, teaches "that the memory of saints may be set before us, in order that we may follow their faith and good works according to our calling; as the Emperor may follow David's example in making war to drive away the Turks from his country; for both are kings. But the Scripture teacheth not to invoke saints . . . because it offereth unto us one Christ the Mediator, Propitiatory, High-priest, and Intercessor. . . . *If any man sin, we have an advocate with God, Jesus Christ the righteous* (1 John ii. 1)."

Article XXII. sums up the case, claiming for the doctrine harmony with Scripture, with the Church Catholic, even with the Roman Church so far as known from the Fathers, and repudiating the charge of heresy. "It is concerning traditional abuses introduced without any definite authority that the dissension has arisen. It would be a becoming lenity on the part of the Bishops that in view of the Confession now presented they should be patient, since not even the Canons are so severe as to demand the same rites everywhere, nor

were the rites of all churches at any time the same. It is a calumnious falsehood that all the ceremonies, all the things instituted of old, are abolished in our churches."

The whole Confession, or "Apology," as Melanchthon called it, is eloquent of its author's yearning to promote the re-union of divided Christendom ; it breathes the spirit of defence, not defiance. It emphasizes points of agreement before it affirms points of conscientious difference. To many Romanists it was an amazing revelation of the essential Catholicism of Lutheran teaching. To all it was proffered as a *via media* between the paths of sharp divergence. It failed to achieve its pacific purpose. An official Confutation of it was issued, which, in turn, was answered by Melanchthon's able and learned *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, 1531, a lengthy and valuable exposition as well as vindication of the Confession, which came to be regarded and used itself as a standard in 1532 at Schweinfurt, and again at Schmalkald in 1537, and finally received a place among the classical Lutheran symbols.

It was characteristic of the author of both Confession and Apology, and, indeed, characteristic of the spirit of the movement for which he laboured, that, as with Luther and the Schmalkald Articles, he did not regard either document as fixed and invariable, but took every opportunity of revising both, with the result that both in the printed and in the extant manuscript forms and in the early translations there are innumerable discrepancies, mostly minute, but in several instances serious and deliberate, and significant of the writer's open and changing mind. In accordance with the closing sentence, "If aught shall be found wanting in this Confession, we are ready, God willing, to set forth further truth in harmony with the Scriptures," Melanchthon made use of every call for a fresh issue to correct and modify and improve his views. In the edition of 1540, known as the *Variata*, this process reached its climax, when, as in the 1535 edition of his *Loci Communes*, a synergistic

modification of his views on absolute predestination and human free-will, on repentance and good works, found expression; and instead of the clause, "they teach that the body and blood of Christ *are truly present and are distributed* to those that eat in the Lord's Supper; *and they disapprove of those that teach otherwise*," there appeared the milder words, "they teach that *with bread and wine are truly exhibited* the body and blood of Christ to those that eat in the Lord's Supper" — a refusal to condemn divergent Protestant views, and an approximation towards those Calvinistic and Zwinglian opinions with which the Marburg Conference and personal interviews with Calvin and Bucer had made Melanchthon familiar.

No one can read the Augsburg Confession without being deeply impressed by the sincerity of its effort to conserve the Scriptural and spiritual essentials of traditional Christianity, and by the utter absence of any traces of the spirit of wanton innovation. It is, we may add, significant of the occasion which evoked it, and of the enthusiasm which it inspired, that as presented to the Diet it bore the signatures, not of theologians and churchmen, as in the case of the earlier articles, but of the Saxon Elector and other princes and rulers of Germany. Though there is endless local variety in the terms and formulæ of subscription, it is still the historic standard round which the forces of Lutheranism rally throughout the world. No subsequent Confession has been drawn up without regard to its teaching, and beyond the circle of its direct or indirect influence.

THE ARTICLES OF SCHMALKALD.

The *Articles of Schmalkald* in Thuringia, A.D. 1537, form Luther's last contribution to the Confessions of Protestantism. Paul III. had at last agreed to summon a General Council to meet at Mantua in 1537, and Luther was instructed by the Elector of Saxony to prepare a series of

articles embodying the Reformer's convictions, as a basis of discussion at the Council. These were submitted to a gathering of princes and theologians at Schmalkald. Their tone is resolutely and aggressively Protestant. It was resolved accordingly not to proceed to the Council. Signatures were appended by the theologians present. Melanchthon, by request, contributed an appendix on the Papal authority and primacy, but characteristically qualified his signature to the Articles :

" I, Philip Melanchthon, approve the foregoing Articles as pious and Christian. But in regard to the Pope I hold that if he would admit the Gospel, we might also permit him for the sake of peace and the common concord of Christendom to exercise by human right his present jurisdiction over the bishops who are now or may hereafter be under his authority."

As a whole, the Articles supplement the Confession of Augsburg by defining the Protestant attitude to the Papacy, and as such they contributed towards the final separation.

In section i., the doctrine of the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds is reaffirmed.

In section ii., on " the office and work of Christ, or our Redemption," justification by faith is vigorously maintained against all ecclesiastical and superstitious encroachments : upon it " depends all that we teach and do against the Pope, the Devil, and all the world " ; the Mass is an unspeakable " abomination," purgatory a " Satanic delusion," and the Pope " the veritable Antichrist," inasmuch as " he will not suffer Christians to be saved without his power."

In section iii., fifteen articles deal with sin, the law, repentance, the sacraments, and other matters which " we are free to debate with men of learning or understanding or settle among ourselves," without appeal to the Pope and his subjects, who " are not greatly concerned about them, for they are devoid of conscience, but are intent upon money, honour, and power." Transubstantiation is denied in favour of consubstantiation in its extreme form—" the true body and blood of Christ are administered and received not only by pious but also by impious Christians."

If Luther thought that Melanchthon had stepped too softly in the Augustana, there was no mistaking his own heavy footfall in the Articles of Schmalkald.

MEDIATING CONFESSIONS OR INTERIMS.

Luther died early in 1546, soon after the opening of the Council of Trent. The controversy with Rome and discussion of terms of re-union dragged on. Numerous *Interims*, or working arrangements, doctrinal as well as ecclesiastical, sometimes voluntary, sometimes coercive, continued as before to swell the Confessional output. The *Augsburg Interim* of 1548 is a notable example. It was drawn up by three theologians of modest ability—the scholastic Michael Helding, the humanist Julius von Pflug, and the reactionary Lutheran Agricola, who were selected by the Emperor Charles v. As was inevitable, compromise was secured only by recourse to gross ambiguity and a clumsy combination of opposites. Roman doctrine and usage were retained in reference to Transubstantiation, the number of the Sacraments, adoration of Mary and of Saints, the sovereignty of the Pope; while a modified acceptance of Justification by Faith and of clerical marriage, permission to use the Cup, and a revision of the doctrine of the Mass, were a sop to Protestant feeling. In 1549, Melanchthon, in his eagerness for peace, outraged Protestant feeling by framing, along with other Wittenberg theologians, a precisely similar compromise, the *Leipzig Interim*, in which most Roman usages were represented as things "indifferent," as "open matters"; but neither persuasion nor persecution availed to enforce either Interim. Two years later, in 1551, as a basis for discussion in the resumed meetings of the Council of Trent, Melanchthon drew up the *Confessio Saxonica*, or, as he called it, the *Repetitio Confessionis Augustanæ*, a re-statement of Reformed doctrine in conciliatory and moderate but firmly Protestant terms. In 1552, at the request of Duke

Christopher of Württemberg, a similar statement was prepared for the same purpose by Brenz—the *Württemberg Confession.* Both statements were duly dispatched by the hands of Protestant representatives to the Council; but the unlooked-for military intervention of the Elector Maurice effectually prevented their discussion, and diverted the current of events towards the final issue of the Settlement and Peace of Augsburg, A.D. 1555.

LUTHERAN CONTROVERSIES.

From the date of that Settlement, the political and national frontier between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism was definitely fixed, and the controversy of Lutherans with Rome called for no further additions to the Augsburg Confession and Apology and the supplementary Articles of Schmalkald. Thenceforward, unhappily, the Lutheran Church turned its attention to internal differences upon minor points of doctrine. These controversies were the occasion of the later formulations between 1555 and 1592, the close of the Confessional epoch in Lutheran history.

In 1559 a large and important convention of Swabian theologians and pastors met at Stuttgart to discuss a number of questions bearing on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which had been raised by Hagen, a Württemberg minister who had become a disciple and follower of Calvin. The old hiatus in the Marburg Articles was now to be filled up. Under the leadership of John Brenz, the distinctively Lutheran doctrine of the sacramental presence of the body and blood of the Risen Christ with the elements was reasserted in language so strong as to merit the repudiated title of "ubiquitarianism," and founded upon the teaching that in the ascended Lord the human and the Divine are eternally conjoined at the right hand of the Majesty on high, filling all things, so that the body as

well as the spirit of Christ is omnipresent, a spiritual body and real presence "orally" and in actual substance to be partaken of by all believers, in sacred and impenetrable association with the elements. Unbelievers and godless people may receive it with the hallowed but unchanged elements, but without faith they do so to their condemnation. In the 6th article it is claimed that this doctrine is in harmony with Scripture, and with justice that it agrees also with the Augsburg and the Württemberg Confessions. Beyond question, Brenz was loyal in this position to the whole mind of Luther, and to the characteristic standpoint of the original Lutheran Reformation. But where even Luther, as at Marburg, hesitated to go in doctrinal definition, Brenz and his fellows might well have paused. Not only in Tübingen and the rest of Württemberg, but beyond, a serious menace to Protestant unity was proclaimed. It was much, no doubt, to side with Luther; but, with Calvin and Melanchthon both upon the other side, the assurance requisite for Confessional legislation was surely gravely imperilled. For that reason the Stuttgart Articles, although they became binding in Württemberg, were declined by other Lutheran provinces. Melanchthon lived just long enough to see them, and to deprecate their "unseasonable" formulation.

After, as before, Melanchthon's death, his open-minded, mediative liberal spirit, sympathizing now with Roman Catholic, anon with Calvinistic elements of faith, operated as a speculative ferment in all Lutheran lands. Conservative resistance to his opinions and to those which sprang from them logically or by exaggeration led to that bitter and protracted series of doctrinal feuds concerning sin, salvation, and the Sacrament of the Supper, of which the chief were associated with the following names:

(1) John Agricola, who in opposition to Luther and Melanchthon urged that the law should be set aside in

favour of the exclusive preaching of the gospel, even contrition being the fruit of the latter.

(2) Andrew Osiander, who, while devoted to the doctrine of justification by faith, preferred the moral and mystical to the forensic meaning of "justification," merging it in sanctification through the indwelling of the living Christ, and was opposed by Mörlin and Chemnitz, the joint-authors of the Prussian Confession, *Corpus Doctrinæ Pruthenicum*, A.D. 1567.

(3) George Major, who maintained that good works are necessary to salvation, being met by the paradox of Amsdorf that they are injurious to salvation.

(4) John Pfeffinger, who defended and developed the later teaching of Melanchthon, that a certain remnant of freedom to co-operate with Divine grace in conversion and salvation remains to man, being opposed by Amsdorf, Flacius, and others, who urged Luther's affirmation of the impotence of the natural man to do more than oppose the will of God.

(5) Numerous sympathizers with the views of Calvin and of Melanchthon on the Lord's Supper, the Person and Natures of Christ, and Predestination—the "Crypto-Calvinists," whose views found expression in Saxony during their short-lived ascendancy in the *Corpus Doctrinæ Philippicum* (A.D. 1560), the Wittenberg Catechism of 1571, and the *Consensus Dresdensis* (A.D. 1571), but were condemned, as we have seen, at Stuttgart.

THE CONCORD MOVEMENT AND CONFESSIONS.

At length the tide turned, and set in the direction of compromise. The old Confession of Augsburg was at first the natural rally-point for the scattered energies of Lutheranism. It was the work of Melanchthon, inspired throughout by Luther, the source of the doctrine of all parties. But the question was inevitable—Was it to be the original Augustana, or the revised and seriously

altered form of 1540, which had been accepted by all the German Reformers at Worms in that year, and which even Calvin had been able to sign? In 1561, at the *Naumburg Assembly of Princes*, it was agreed to recognize afresh the Augustana in both forms with the Apology. But the clamour against encroaching Calvinism continued. To James Andreæ, a Tübingen professor and pupil of Brenz, belongs the credit of successfully inaugurating the Concord movement. In 1573 he suggested, as a basis of agreement, the substance of six irenic lectures. Later he modified them in accordance with the criticisms of Martin Chemnitz, the most distinguished pupil of Melanchthon and the most eminent of Lutheran theologians. Thus emerged in 1575 the lengthy *Swabian and Saxon Formula of Concord*, followed immediately by the brief *Maulbronn Formula* by Luke Osiander and Balthasar Bidenbach. Both were superseded by the *Book of Torgau*, in twelve articles derived from them, mainly by Andreæ and Chemnitz, which found such wide-spread acceptance among the Lutheran princes to whom it was submitted that its two chief authors, along with four others—Selnecker, Musculus, Körner, and Chytræus—were encouraged to recast it finally in 1577 as the memorable *Formula of Concord* at Bergen, near Magdeburg, where they met by instruction of the Saxon Elector Augustus, who from the first had been the unfailing patron and liberal promoter of the Concord movement. In 1580, the fiftieth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession, the chief Lutheran Symbols between 1530 and 1577 were recognized, collected, and published in one volume, the *Book of Concord*, at Dresden, a Latin version following the German original.

THE FORMULA OF CONCORD.

Though it never attained to an authority and acceptance comparable with those of the Augustana and Luther's Catechisms, the Formula of Concord is a dignified and high-

toned utterance, and it played a great and timely part in the history of Lutheranism. The effort to produce it practically exhausted the main controversial energies of Lutheran scholasticism, and accentuated the need for rest and quiet. If religious truth must be drawn out in fine-spun thought and expressed through strenuous argument in subtle scholastic propositions, this Formula deserves our admiration and our gratitude. It can scarcely be said with justice that the issues were trivial, or irrelevant, or idle. There will probably always be minds that cannot rest in Christian dogma without re-traversing those old and once well-worn paths of speculation and deduction. It is to be feared that lack of mental courage and resource too often prompts our modern adverse judgments upon those stern debates. We are more willing to let sleeping dogs lie undisturbed; but sleep is not death, and they may awake at any time, as indeed they have often done. We are indisposed to stir the ashes of this sixteenth century conflagration, perhaps in part because we have reason to suspect that deep below their cold surface the ancient fire may lurk unseen. The ultimates of the passionate controversy of that age remain, though we choose not to face them. Difficulties are not annihilated by the mere closing of our eyes in weariness. The language and temper of discussion have undergone a happy change, but who shall say that in the modern Protestant world men think alike to-day upon the meaning of the Sacraments, the relation between the Divine will and foreknowledge and human freedom, sin and salvation, the relation between the human and Divine natures in Christ on earth and in heaven? It may be, however, that we owe it to the undaunted efforts of the men whom we lightly set aside as the post-Reformation scholastics and polemics, that we have learned either to practise or at least to respect undogmatic silence upon sacred mysteries left undisclosed by Holy Writ itself, and beyond the reach of Christian experience. The very districts of Germany which in the

sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were most controversial and most confession-ridden were the first to turn either to Pietism or to Rationalism. The same Tübingen which later startled Europe with its wanton historical criticism had been a stronghold of Lutheran Conservatism.

The *Formula of Concord* is in two divisions, each containing the same twelve articles in shorter or longer form—the *Epitome* and the *Solida Repetitio et Declaratio*. The "Epitome," though only a fifth of the dimension of the "Repetitio" (which contains a fuller exposition, fortified by citations from Scripture, the Fathers, the works of Luther, and the foregoing Confessions), is itself a massive document, and contains a full statement of the preponderant doctrine of the Lutheran Churches set forth in each article according to a fixed scheme: (1) The controversial issue; (2) the affirmative statement of the true doctrine; (3) the negation or condemnation of the false, the whole being prefaced by a significant and, for a Lutheran standard, unusual statement "of the compendious rule and norm according to which all dogmas ought to be judged and all controversies which have arisen ought to be piously set forth and settled." That rule, as in Calvinism, is "the Prophetic and Apostolic writings both of the Old and of the New Testament" alone. All other ancient and modern writings are in no wise to be counted equal to them, but are at most witnesses to later doctrine. Thereafter, as subordinate standards of right doctrine, the three "primitive Church Symbols" are accepted, with the "first, unaltered," Augsburg Confession, the Apology of the same, the Schmalkald Articles, and, "inasmuch as this matter of religion appertains also to the laity, and their eternal salvation is at stake, Dr. Luther's Smaller and Larger Catechisms, because we judge them to be as it were the Bible of the laity." Then follow the twelve successive Articles on Original Sin, Free-will, Righteousness of Faith before God, Good Works, Law and Gospel, Third Use of the Law, Lord's Supper, Person of Christ, Descent of Christ into Hades, Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, Predestination and Election, other Heresies and Sects — Anabaptists, Schwenkfeldians, New Arians, and Anti-trinitarians. In every article the conservative Lutheran position is

maintained as against the Romanist and Melanchthonian, not to say against the Calvinist and Zwinglian and Anabaptist, and the victorious conclusions of the antecedent Lutheran controversies are firmly embodied, sometimes with moderated phraseology.

Especially noteworthy are two groups of Articles.

In Article II. man's will since the Fall and apart from regenerating grace "is not only averse from God but even hostile," even as his "understanding and reason are wholly blind in spiritual things"; and in conversion man is wholly passive. In Art. III. Justification, as "absolution from sin," is sharply distinguished from regeneration and sanctification, and Faith, the only "means and instrument whereby we lay hold on Christ the Saviour, and so in Christ lay hold on that righteousness which is able to stand before the judgment of God," "is not a bare knowledge of the history of Christ, but such and so great a gift of God as that by it we rightly recognize Christ our Redeemer in the word of the Gospel and confide in Him." Moreover, "although they that truly believe in Christ and are born again are even to the hour of death subject to many infirmities and stains, yet they ought not to doubt either of the righteousness which is imputed to them through faith, or concerning their eternal salvation"; and, "after man is justified by faith, then that true and living faith works by love, and good works always follow justifying faith." In Art. XI. Predestination or Election is distinguished from mere foreknowledge which "extends both to good and evil men" and is not an efficient cause either of good or of evil; it "extends only to the good and beloved children of God," and "procures their salvation, and appoints those things which pertain to it: it is not to be explored by reason in the hidden counsel of God, but "sought in the Word of God, in which it is revealed: God and His Christ desire and invite all men to turn from sin and be saved: He is not willing that any should perish, but rather that all should be converted and believe in Christ"; it is false "that some men are destined to destruction not on account of their sins, but by the mere counsel, purpose and will of God."—Thus room is found for no Melanchthonian synergy with God in salvation, but only for a synergy with Satan in perdition, an exercise of human free-will about which all parties in Christendom were thoroughly agreed.

In the closely related Articles VII. and VIII. on the Lord's Supper and the Two Natures in Christ, while transubstantiation is denied, a purely spiritual presence independent of the elements is set aside: the actual body is partaken of along with the symbols, by virtue of its ubiquity, through suffusion of the human by the Divine in the one and eternally indivisible Lord. In heaven as on earth there has been and is a *communicatio idiomatum*: the right hand of God, the seat of Christ, is not a particular locality; His risen body fills all things, and may therefore be recognized as interpenetrating the consecrated elements.—Romanism and Calvinism could equally refute this half-way view: it lost the advantages of both extremes: and it proved too much for its own purpose, for omnipresence of the Lord's body would hallow all objects and not alone or specially the memorial elements. Similarly, the Incarnation was evacuated of meaning, and the dogma of Chalcedon, that there is no confusion or conversion of the two natures in Christ, was inevitably infringed. Interpenetration, sacramental and hypostatic, was the besetting idea of Lutheranism. In both fields of thought, as also in matters of government and ritual, it lacked either courage or discernment to break entirely with Rome and go all the way with the Reformed doctrine of Switzerland. Perhaps, had Melanchthon's genius been more decided and uncompromising, his influence upon purely Lutheran formulations would have been more instead of less; he might have overcome the opposition which doctrinal half-measures only served to intensify.

The Formula of Concord became authoritative in Saxony, Coburg, Weimar, Württemberg, Baden, Mecklenburg, Lübeck, Hamburg, and for a time in the Palatinate and Brandenburg.

LATER CONFESSIONS IN GERMANY.

In 1581 recognition was given by the Church of Anhalt to the *Anhalt Confession* or *Repetition* of the Augsburg Confession, a purely Melanchthonian statement of Lutheran doctrine, drawn up mainly by Superintendent Wolfgang Amling and submitted in 1579 to a conference with Hessian

divines at Cassel. This Confession is sometimes reckoned among the *Reformed* Confessions ; but it is not Calvinistic, recognizing as it does the *Variata* Confession of Augsburg, the *Corpus Doctrinæ* of Melanchthon, the Schmalkald Articles and Luther's Catechisms, and clinging to the Lutheran sacramental theory of a *manducatio oralis* and therewith of a *manducatio indignorum*. A somewhat similar position was taken up about the same time by the *Nassau Confession* (1578), prepared by a Saxon Crypto-Calvinist, Pezel, which rests upon the *Variata* and the Saxon Articles, rejecting the ubiquitarian doctrine of strict Lutheranism. On the other hand, in 1592, Melanchthonian and Crypto-Calvinistic doctrine was roundly condemned afresh by the *Saxon Visitation Articles*, prepared on the basis of a discussion between Andreæ and Beza in 1586 by the Marburg theologian Hunnius and others. Four groups of brief uncompromising propositions reassert the Concord teaching : (1) on the Lord's Supper, (2) on the Person of Christ, (3) on Holy Baptism, and (4) on Predestination and the Eternal Providence of God—as the "pure and true" doctrine. A similar series of groups pillory the alleged "false and erroneous" teachings of the Calvinists. In Saxony, conformity to these articles was rigorously and cruelly enforced. Notice may also be taken of the attempt made in 1655 by the rigid conservative Calovius to secure the condemnation of the so-called "Syncretism" of the liberal and pacific George Calixtus of Helmstadt and his school, who gave expression to the feeling of reaction against Lutheran bigotry and exclusiveness, and desired a Catholic understanding between Lutherans, Calvinists, and Romanists on the basis of the Creeds and consensus of the first five centuries, relegating to a secondary place all points of controversial difference. Calovius' counterblast took the form of a *Repeated Consensus of the truly Lutheran Faith*, but happily it never attained to Confessional authority. The movement it sought to arrest has continued unabated to the present time.

LUTHERAN CONFESSIONS OUTSIDE GERMANY.

A brief reference must suffice for the little group of Confessions representing various stages of Lutheranism in other lands. In no case are they marked by original contributions of any theological moment.

In Denmark, so early as 1530, when twenty-one Lutheran preachers were arraigned, at the instance of the bishops, before the National Assembly at Copenhagen, they drew up under the leadership of Hans Tausen, the "Danish Luther," *Forty-Three Articles*. These remained to proclaim the Danish Reformed Faith until set aside in favour of the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism.

In Bohemia [1] a Lutheran type of faith found expression (1) in the *Bohemian Confession* of 1535, which closely adheres to the Augsburg Confession, and (2), in alliance with Calvinism and the Teaching of the Brethren, in the *Bohemian Confession* of 1575, which adheres to the altered or Melanchthonian version of Augsburg doctrine.

In Hungary, Lutheran doctrine was restricted mainly to German-speaking districts, the teaching of Melanchthon and Calvin appealing to the Magyar people. *Twelve Articles at Erdöd* were framed in 1545, in harmony with the Augsburg Confession. Three years later, a similar Lutheran statement issued from a Synod which met at Mediasch, representing five towns in Upper Hungary, *the Confession of the Five Cities*.

In Poland, Lutherans took part in the making and acceptance of the *Consensus of Sendomir* (A.D. 1570), which, like the Second Bohemian Confession, emanated from a joint-Synod of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Brethren. It follows Melanchthon's Saxon Repetition of the Augustana, in essential harmony with the Calvinistic position regarding the Lord's Supper, avoiding extreme Lutheran tenets. On predestination it is silent, no controversy having emerged thereupon. A notable feature is the complete mutual

[1] See above, p. 135.

recognition of the Churches concerned, and the practical exhortation to avoid strife and promote fellowship by every possible means.

In the United States of America the Lutheran Churches have contented themselves with subscribing to the Augsburg Confession (unaltered), or to the whole Book of Concord, without adding to the Corpus of Lutheran Confessions.

CHAPTER XI.

CONFESSIONS IN THE ANGLICAN (EPISCOPALIAN) CHURCHES.

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH England may claim through Wyclif to have been the chief contributor to the early Reformation movement, it was not until a century and a half after the publication of Wyclif's *Twelve Theses* against Transubstantiation that the formulation of new Articles of religion was set about.[1] In the interval, however, the national mind was far from idle. Wyclif's thought was not allowed to perish in the Universities, and, later, Luther's works were freely read and pondered. Church and Crown were able long to restrain the rising tide of freedom, but, when they fell out, the Reformation burst over the land in overwhelming force. In England, as in Saxony, the new cause found its patrons not only in the Universities but in cultured princes—a fact which goes far to explain not only the Erastianism, but the doctrinal, ritual, and constitutional conservatism, common to the Anglican and Lutheran Churches. No doubt, the outward Reformation owed much to the royal and the national self-assertion characteristic of the age ; and it was a strange providence that linked it with the domestic and dynastic predicament of Henry VIII., whose reluctant marriage

[1] GENERAL LITERATURE.—SCHAFF, *History of Creeds*, and *Creeds of the Evang. Prot. Churches* ; HARDWICK, *Hist. of the Articles*, 1884 ; E. C. S. GIBSON, *The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, 1896–7 ; LINDSAY, *Hist. of the Reformation*, 1907, vol. ii. ; MACLEAR-WILLIAMS, *Introd. to the Articles of the Church of Eng.*, 1896 ; E. TYRRELL GREEN, *The Thirty-nine Articles and the Age of the Reformation*, 1896. The first two volumes enumerated reprint the most important documents and detail the older literature.

with his brother's widow was prescribed by Spanish statecraft, and sanctioned by the Papacy in violation both of its own most sacred laws and of the conscience of Europe. But in fact it experienced at Henry's hands as much embarrassment as help, and, though his mind had many enlightened sympathies, the royal "Defender of the Faith" was not the real inaugurator of Reform. The land of Magna Charta and of John Wyclif could not keep still while the rest of Northern Europe was in the throes of the struggle for religious liberty. It was not likely to submit for ever to an Italian Papacy in the realm of truth and order. The English was essentially a native Reformation, though assisted from abroad.

Much as the English articles, accordingly, owed to Wittenberg and Switzerland, they retained a character of their own. Like the English Church organization, service, and traditions, they are not to be summarily described as Lutheran or Zwinglian or Calvinistic. Happily the story of the evolution of the Anglican formularies can be recounted without controversy, though the business of their detailed interpretation is involved in intricate and delicate questions. Even as standards of doctrine, they have from the first been inextricably associated with the Prayer Book; in the nature of the case an exclusive and obligatory manual of service must throw as much light upon the doctrinal *arcanum* of a Church's faith as even a formal body of theological propositions. To ignore or to miss this fact is to deprive oneself of the necessary key to the understanding of the peculiar history and position of the great Anglican Church. Beyond all the other Reformed Churches, the Anglican and the Lutheran clung to every reputable relic of Roman Catholic tradition and custom. If in its articles the former Church went further apart than the latter from the parent Romanism, in its ritual and its government and its tone it was more conservative. The theology of Puritan Anglicanism is an episode of which the Church has far less cause to be ashamed than many of its sons are wont

to suppose, but it is an episode whose influence, however powerful still in Church and in derived "Dissent," was never more than partial and limited. Both from the history of the successive Articles of Faith and from the history of that revision of the Roman Service Book which issued in the Prayer Book, it is abundantly clear that the Anglican Church, since its break with Rome, has been in profound sympathy with the great leaders of the Continental Reformation, both German and Swiss, but it is not hastily to be identified with either of the historic groups.

EARLY ARTICLES, A.D. 1536–1543.

Six years after the publication of the Augsburg Confession, and two years after the abjuration of Papal supremacy by Parliament and both convocations of clergy, in 1536 appeared the earliest English Articles. *The Ten Articles*, "devised by the Kyng's Highnes Majestie to stablyshe Christen quietnes and unitie among us, and to avoyde contentious opinions, and ordered to be read in churches," are eloquent of the divided state of religious thought in England. On account of their extreme conservatism, representing the standpoint of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, rather than of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Foxe characterizes them as intended for "weaklings newly weaned from their mother's milk of Rome." In view of the statement in a royal letter that the king "was constrained to put his own pen to the book, and to conceive certain Articles which were by all the bishops and whole clergy of the realm in convocation agreed on as catholic," it seems certain that the king, whose learning was considerable, and whose theological interest was lively, had a personal share in the composition or revision of the Articles. Very probably his intervention sufficed to turn the scales on the side of the conservatives, whose concern was to ward off Papal intrusion and to leave doctrine and ritual severely alone; yet the Augsburg influence is unmistakable. The document was of sub-

stantial use in that transitional time, and could conscientiously be subscribed by men like Foxe and Cranmer, who were prepared at once to go far further in advance. Like the Augsburg Confession, it falls into two parts: the first five Articles deal with doctrine, the second five with ceremonies.

In the first part the three ancient Creeds are insisted upon in addition to "the whole body and Canon of the Bible" as standards of doctrine according to their plain "purport" and the mind of "the holy approved doctors of the Church"; those who will not accept them are "very infidels or heretics and members of the Devil with whom they shall perpetually be damned" (Art. i.).

Baptism is "a thing necessary for the attaining of eternal life"; original sin cannot be remitted except by it; infants dying shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, otherwise not; in the adult or in children having the use of reason it is conditional upon penitence and doctrinal faith, and is effective through "renovation of the Holy Ghost" (Art. ii.).

Penance is a sacrament "institute of Christ in the New Testament as a thing so necessary for man's salvation that no man which after his baptism is fallen again, and hath committed deadly sin, can without the same be saved," and its constituents of contrition, auricular confession, and an amended life of good works are required: "*item*, that by penance and such good works of the same we shall not only obtain everlasting life, but also we shall deserve remission or mitigation of these present pains and afflictions in this world" (Art. iii.).

"As touching the Sacrament of the Altar . . . under the form and figure of bread and wine . . . is verily substantially and really contained and comprehended the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary and suffered upon the cross for our redemption . . . and under the same form and figure of bread and wine the very selfsame body and blood of Christ is corporally really and in the very substance exhibited, distributed and received unto and of all them which receive the said sacrament" (Art. iv.).

Justification "signifieth remission of our sins and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ"; it is attained "by contrition

and faith joined with charity; . . . not as though our contrition or faith or any works proceeding thereof can worthily merit justification, but God also requireth good works to follow faith" (Art. v.).

According to the second part, images, especially of Christ and the Virgin, are to be retained, for their wholesome teaching and suggestion, but not for idolatry or ceremonial honour (Art. vi.).

Saints are to be honoured as elect of Christ, as having lived a godly life, and as reigning with Christ, also as "advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ," but "not with that confidence and honour which are only due unto God" (Art. vii.).

"Albeit grace, remission of sin, and salvation cannot be obtained but of God only by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, . . . yet it is very laudable to pray to saints in heaven . . . to be intercessors and to pray for us and with us . . . so that it be done without any vain superstition as to think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ, or that any saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same" (Art. viii.).

Roman rites and ceremonies are "good and laudable" and "not to be contemned and cast away"; but they have no "power to remit sin," but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God (Art. ix.).

"It is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed and also to cause other to pray for them in masses and exequies . . . whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain,—but forasmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and kind of pains there, also be to us uncertain by Scripture, therefore this with all other things we remit to Almighty God . . . wherefore it is much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away, which under the name of purgatory hath been advanced, as to make men believe that through the bishop of Rome's pardons souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory and all the pains of it" (Art. x.).

Both regarded in themselves and in connexion with the "Injunctions" issued in 1536 and 1538, these Articles, with all their caution, are unmistakably on the side of such reformation as Luther demanded. They were meant to unite old-school and new-school Christians, and to be tender towards everything hallowed by tradition, so long as superstition was not necessarily involved in it.

Agreement on a more advanced basis of doctrine was at the time impossible. It is something that Transubstantiation was ignored, that the risks and fact of idolatry in church observances were proclaimed, and that in the "Injunctions" of 1538 a large public Bible was enjoined to be placed in every parish, within the reach of all. The Articles were followed up and superseded in 1537 by the *Institution of a Christian Man*, prepared by a committee of church dignitaries under Cranmer, and hence known as the *Bishops' Book*, which, though neither issued by Convocation nor revised by the king as purposed, nor issued by his authority, was published by the king's printer, and speedily became a practical formulary of Church doctrine. It contains an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, the *seven* Sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, and a repetition, from the Ten Articles, of the sections on Justification and Purgatory; and, though it retains seven sacraments, it refers severely to their abuses, and distinguishes between the three in the Articles and the others. Its standpoint and teaching are like those of the Articles. In 1543 it was revised at Gardiner's instance, in characteristic fashion, by Henry VIII. in a reactionary interest and in keeping with his harsh anti-Protestant Statute of the Six Articles, and issued with his authority and that of Convocation as *The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. It was known as the *King's Book*, and is notable as insisting on the doctrine of Transubstantiation: "in this most high Sacrament of the Altar the creatures which be taken to the use thereof as bread and wine do not remain still in their own substance . . . but be changed and turned to be the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour," and as insisting upon clerical celibacy. With the Bishops' and the King's Books a *Catechism* was associated.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES, A.D. 1538–1562.

THE THIRTEEN ARTICLES.

So early as 1538, conferences held between Anglican and Lutheran divines in Wittenberg and at Lambeth issued in the framing of *Thirteen Articles*, towards a complete Confession of Faith. It was found impossible to reach agreement on disciplinary and ecclesiastical matters, and the project was abandoned, but the thirteen Articles on doctrinal subjects were retained by Cranmer, and in the succeeding reign of Edward they, not the Ten, became the basis of the final Articles of the Church.

They deal with (i.) the unity of God and Trinity of Persons, (ii.) original sin ; (iii.) the two natures of Christ ; (iv.) Justification ; (v.) the Church ; (vi.) Baptism ; (vii.) the Eucharist ; (viii.) Penance ; (ix.) the use of sacraments ; (x.) ministers of the Church ; (xi.) rites of the Church ; (xii.) civil affairs ; (xiii.) the resurrection of bodies and final judgment. Throughout, the influence of the Augsburg Confession is paramount. Articles i.-iii. are almost identical with their prototype ; others are largely in verbal, as well as entirely in theological, agreement with them ; only on Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance is there substantial variation or addition, the doctrine, even in them, remaining the same.

THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI.

In 1547, Cranmer issued a Catechism translated from a Lutheran German original. In 1549 appeared the *First Prayer Book of King Edward* VI., a Service Book in English, prepared under Cranmer from the Use of Sarum, from a recent revision of the Breviary by Cardinal Quignon, and from a recent adaptation by Melanchthon and Bucer of the ancient offices of Nürnberg. It was studiously moderate in its reforming purpose (*e.g.* in reference to the Eucharist and the Sign of the Cross), in order that the most conservative might be able to use it.

THE FORTY-TWO ARTICLES OF 1553.

The issue of Articles of Faith was long delayed by Cranmer, who hoped to secure a common Confession with Lutherans and Swiss Reformed, and who corresponded with Melanchthon, Calvin, and Bullinger, with a view to that great end first suggested by Melanchthon in 1539. From the end of 1545 to 1547, from 1551 to 1553, the Earlier Sessions of the Council of Trent were being held—a spur, as Cranmer wrote to Calvin, to Protestants to vindicate the truth as they conceived it. Of course, sacramental definition was the great obstacle to Protestant agreement, and political difficulties made any extensive conference hard to secure. Cranmer had not abandoned his honourable hope for that consummation when, in 1551, upon instructions received, he furnished the Privy Council and Bishops with a first draft of the *Forty-Two Articles*, which passed through repeated revisions by lay as well as clerical hands, and were given a final mandate for subscription in 1553. Though they bore the title "Articles agreed on by the bishops and other learned men in the Synod at London in the year of our Lord MDLII," it is not certain that they were ever formally discussed and sanctioned by Convocation. Dr. E. C. S. Gibson thinks, Principal Lindsay is sure, that they were not, and they incline to regard the claim of the title as due to the unscrupulous determination of the Privy Council to secure their operation at once ; but there are serious difficulties in the evidence, as Gibson concedes, and in spite of the absence of any record of them in the minutes of Convocation, which were scandalously defective, —according to Fuller, "but one degree above blanks . . . scarce affording the names of the clerks assembled therein," —there is little reason to abandon Archdeacon Hardwick's contrary opinion. A *Catechism*, which was frequently printed along with the Articles, and certainly lacked the authority of Convocation, had been prepared shortly before.

As for the contents of these Forty-Two Articles, their foundation is unmistakably the *Thirteen Articles*, which are

embodied in them and impart their character and standpoint to the whole. It is to those earlier Articles that they are chiefly indebted for their Lutheran elements; for, though natural affinity and political expediency originally dictated a close alliance with Lutheranism, the independence and the genius for practical compromise which are characteristic of the English mind asserted themselves with growing force, and prompted the Anglican Church to steer a course through the alternatives of Continental thought, now approaching one type, now another, but avoiding thoroughgoing agreement with any. The framers of the Forty-Two Articles had not only the earlier English attempts in mind, but also the partial Tridentine scheme of doctrine, the Lutheran, the Zwinglian (to which Cranmer became partial in regard to the Lord's Supper), the Calvinist, and, over against all these, the medley of eccentric or heretical opinions roughly classed as Anabaptist and Socinian. The makers of the Anglican Articles at every stage cherished a statesmanlike desire, fostered assiduously both by the political sagacity of successive sovereigns and by the balance of conservative and liberal theological parties in Church and State, to remain in touch with Catholic as distinct from Papist tradition, at every possible point, while keeping in line with the primary evangelical positions of the Reformed Churches. Theological initiative or originality was neither displayed nor coveted: problems were worked out to practical, not speculative solutions; concord was a prior objective to truth. The Articles are scarcely a system of ordered doctrine: upon many important topics they are silent; they lean theologically upon the Prayer Book or upon the Scriptures; they deal merely with topics agitating the religious world at the time, and are content simply to distinguish authorized from unauthorized doctrine, without attempting a fresh re-statement of Christian truth. Their purpose and character are manifestly polemic or apologetic rather than critical and constructive.

Articles XII. XIII. XXIII. XXVI. XXIX. XXX. condemn

the Roman errors on merit and works of supererogation, purgatory, grace *ex opere operato*, transubstantiation, sacrificial Masses. Artt. v. xx. xxi. xxii. xxv. xxxi. xxxiii. xxxv. xxxvi. assert the fallibility of the Church of Rome and of general Councils as proved by facts, the exclusive claim of Scripture as warrant of any article of faith, the duty of setting forth the Bible in the language of the people, the lawfulness of clerical marriage, the proper attitude to traditions and ceremonies, and, finally, that the King of England is supreme head on earth, next under Christ, of the Church of England . . . "the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England." Artt. i.–iv. vi.–viii. xiv. xv. xviii. xix. xxiv. xxvii. xxviii. xxxii. xxxiii. xxxvi.–xlii. explicitly or implicitly condemn the varied opinions, classed as Anabaptist, which impugned the Creeds, Catholic Christology, faith in the Trinity, rights of individual property, the need of Scriptures, infant baptism, avoidance of excommunicated persons, reverence for traditions and ceremonies, obedience to magistrates, military service, taking of oaths, and which affirmed Christian perfection, inefficacy of services and sacraments conducted by unworthy ministers, ultimate universal salvation. While Artt. i. ii. xxiii. xxvi. xxvii. xxxii. reproduce the language of the Lutheran Confession on the Trinity, Incarnation, Ministry, Sacraments, and Church traditions, from the Thirteen Articles, there is no similar indebtedness in the Articles dealing with the characteristic Reformation topics bearing on the process of human salvation.

The following particulars may be noted. God is one, without bodily parts or passions, in three Persons of one substance, power, and eternity (i.).

Christ has two whole and perfect natures, . . . suffered . . . to reconcile his Father to us and to be a sacrifice for all sin of man, both original and actual (ii.),

went down into Hell, truly rose again, and took again His body, with flesh, bones, and all things . . . wherewith He ascended into heaven (iv.).

Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation, so that whatsoever is neither read therein nor may be proved thereby, although it be sometime received of the faithful as godly and profitable for order and comeliness, yet no man ought to be constrained to believe it as an article of faith or repute it requisite to the necessity of salvation (v.).

Original sin is not the following of Adam's example, but a taint inherited, deserving God's wrath and damnation: it remains in the baptized, though not to condemnation if they are believers (viii.).

We have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God without the grace of God by Christ preventing us (ix.).

Yet no man's will is forced: his sin is his own (x.).

Justification is by faith alone (xi.).

Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit do not please God or prepare for grace, but have the nature of sin (xii.).

It is presumptuous arrogance to speak of human works of supererogation (xiii.).

Christ alone is sinless (xiv.).

Predestination to life is God's everlasting purpose and decree, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom He hath chosen. . . . Such are called by His Spirit working in due season, through grace they obey the calling, are justified freely, made sons by adoption, made like the image of God's only-begotten Son. As the godly consideration of predestination and our election in Christ is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons . . . as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God, so for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination is a most dangerous downfall whereby the Devil may thrust them either into desperation or into a recklessness of most unclean living no less perilous. Although the decrees of predestination are unknown unto us, yet we must receive God's promises in such wise as they be universally set forth to us in holy Scripture, and in our doings that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God (xvii.).

The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men,

in which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance. The Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome have alike erred not only in their living, but also in matters of their faith. It is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything contrary to God's written word, nor may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another. General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of princes. They may err in all manner of matters and have no authority apart from Scripture (XX.–XXII.).

The Scholastic doctrine of Purgatory, pardons, and worship of Saints, is a fond thing vainly feigned and unscriptural (XXIII.).

The Sacraments are but two, were ordained by Christ to knit together His people, not to be paraded, but rightly used; are efficacious only to such as receive them rightly, not as ritual acts; are not only badges and tokens of Christian profession, but rather certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace and God's good will towards us, by which He doth work invisible in us and doth not only quicken but also strengthen and confirm our faith in Him. They are not annulled by unworthy celebrants. Baptism is not only a sign of Christian profession, but also a sign and seal of our new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, right recipients are grafted in the Church, the promises of forgiveness of sin and our adoption to be the sons of God are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed and grace increased by virtue of prayer. The Lord's Supper is not only a sign of Christian charity, but is rather a Sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death, insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a communion of the body of Christ; likewise the cup of blessing is a communion of the blood of Christ. Transubstantiation cannot be proved by Holy Writ, is repugnant to it, and hath given occasion to many superstitions. Christ's risen body cannot be present at one time in many and divers places. A believer ought not to believe or confess the real and bodily presence of Christ's flesh and blood in the Sacrament. The offering of the Cross was once for all (XXVI.-XXX.).

The Prayer Book and ordinal of the English Church are godly and in no point repugnant to the wholesome doctrine of the Gospel (XXXV.).

"They are worthy of condemnation who endeavour to restore the dangerous opinion that all men, be they never so ungodly, shall at length be saved when they have suffered pains for their sins a certain time appointed by God's justice" (XLII.).

THE RELATION OF THE FORTY-TWO ARTICLES TO CALVINISM.

As a whole, it is clear that the Articles, in spite of their connexion with the Augsburg Confession, incline rather to the Reformed or Swiss than to the Lutheran type of doctrine. In reference to the doctrine of the Sacraments and of Scripture they are Reformed, not Lutheran, denying the ubiquity of the eternal body of Christ. On Justification and on the Church and observances they agree with both types, and are thoroughly Protestant. On Election and Predestination they occupy a prudent position, compatible with either type, passing over in silence the problems of the relation of God's all-embracing decree to the loss of the non-elect or the reprobate. Earlier Lutheran Confessions had omitted the whole subject; Zwinglian articles had merely touched upon it in a sentence scripturally; the decrees of Trent in 1547 dismiss it in a cautious sentence without any definition (Sess. vi. can. 17); Calvinistic Confessions had treated it hitherto with even greater brevity and reserve than the English Articles themselves. It is absurd, with some Anglican writers, to deny the Calvinism of the Articles on this subject; but for Calvinistic influence and example they would not have discussed the subject at all. They go further than any contemporary formula, and much further than, *e.g.*, the later *Scots Confession* of John Knox in 1560. They repudiate the opinion that all men will ultimately be saved; they limit saving predestination to the "Elect," and affirm the total inability of natural man to save himself. It is surely a very negative virtue in the Articles, therefore, though common to all Confessions existing at the time, that they evade the problem why God has not predestined all equally to grace and salvation, if all alike have sinned and come

short ; it is hardly enough to say of Him that He elects to abandon some to their own courses, for surely it is as serious a reflexion upon the Divine perfection, love, and justice, to say that He fails to care for some as to say that He predestines some to reprobation and damnation. It is unhistorical to deny the Calvinism of the English Articles, as distinct from the English Service Book to which they were added, merely because they do not, with *later* Calvinistic Confessions, endeavour to carry out the broad principles of election and grace to their narrowest ultimate conclusions. Anglican Puritanism might not be able to appeal for authority and vindication to the Prayer Book in its entirety, but to the Edwardine Articles it could legitimately look as to the rock whence in England it was hewn. These articles are not developed, much less exaggerated, Calvinism. They are not Calvinistic in any partisan sense. But with Calvinistic doctrine, as already formulated, they are in unmistakable sympathy. It is not to be forgotten that Cranmer, their chief author, was partial to the Swiss type of doctrine, though personally well disposed to Lutheran divines and eagerly desirous of securing a doctrinal basis of re-union and harmony between all sections of the Reformed Church. The Articles of 1553 are a clear reflection of that attitude.

THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI.

While the discussion of the Forty-two Articles was in progress, and the simultaneous *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* was being prepared for issue early in 1553,—a new Code of doctrine and usage, which never became authoritative, but is useful as a work by the authors of the Forty-two Articles, throwing light upon their meaning and purpose,—the Prayer Book of 1549 was issued in 1552, in a substantially revised form—the *Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.* The chief changes were directed to the complete de-Romanizing of the Communion Service. The old sequence was altered ; a large portion of the con-

secration prayer was transferred to another place, with a separate title, its petition for the departed being left out; everything that intervened between the consecration and the reception of the elements was dropped, in order to discourage their adoration; and, instead of the words which accompanied their delivery, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. . . . The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life," there were substituted "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving. . . . Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful,"—a form upon which Zwinglians as well as Calvinists, Lutherans, and Romanists might agree. At the same time a number of anything but ultra-Protestant or Puritanic ritual changes were made, *e.g.* the insertion of the so-called "black rubric" —objected to by John Knox, then one of the royal chaplains —which, in the interest of reverence and decorous uniformity, ordained a kneeling posture in the act of Communion.

MARIAN ARTICLES.

During the reign of Mary there was drawn up in 1554 and issued for circulation a *Confession of Protestant faith by a group of prisoners*, including Bishops Ferrar, Hooper, and Coverdale, the martyr Rogers, and, among other signatories, John Bradford, who is credited with its composition. It set forth their loyalty to Scripture, to the ancient Creeds and the great Councils, and to the doctrine of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Damasus; and in firm but moderate terms their adherence to Protestant opinions regarding faith, justification, public worship in the popular tongue, prayer to God alone, Purgatory, Masses for the dead, and the Sacraments. In 1555 a series of *Fifteen Test Articles of Bishop Gardiner* were thrust upon the University of Cambridge in the interests of the Romanist

reaction, followed by the *Five Articles* compiled by the latest Convocation of the reign in 1558; three on the Eucharist, the fourth on the supremacy of the Pope, and the fifth on the transference of ecclesiastical judgments from lay to clerical hands.

ELIZABETHAN REVISIONS OF PRAYER BOOK AND ARTICLES.

In the reign of Elizabeth, and under Archbishop Parker, the work of revision of the Service Book and Articles continued to be prosecuted, always with the consistent policy of safeguarding the Royal supremacy and a Protestant testimony to evangelical truth, and of retaining the ancient ritual and usage so far as innocent of idolatry and superstition—a policy which enabled the Crown to claim the privileges secured to a Lutheran, as distinct from a "Reformed," profession by the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. The Elizabethan changes in Prayer Book and Articles in no wise impaired their essential Protestant testimony, but were intended to remove such elements in the Edwardine standards as were anti-Lutheran. In 1559 the *new edition of the Prayer Book* was issued in what was to prove substantially its permanent form, with the old delivery-sentences at the Communion restored and set in front of the corresponding sentences of Edward VI.—a monument of the spirit of mediation and doctrinal compromise characteristic of the Anglican Reformation. The Forty-two Articles were for a few years left unrevived, and as a test, at least, inoperative. In 1559 a short paraphrase of their doctrine in *Eleven Articles* was prepared and made obligatory by Parker and his associates, who at the same time drew up a tentative series of *Twenty-four Latin Articles*. The Eleven Articles were made binding only by episcopal authority, neither by Crown nor by Convocation, and were apparently intended to serve merely as a stop-gap; but in Ireland they became in 1566, by royal and episcopal ordinance, the accepted standard of doctrine along with

the Irish Prayer Book, until replaced in 1615 by the Thirty-nine Articles.

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES OF 1563.

At last, in January 1563, the revisory labours of Parker and his fellow-workers were brought to a close, when his draft of forty-two Articles were submitted to Convocation. These were by no means identical with the Forty-two of 1553. Their basis was the *Latin* issue of that formulary, varying in some particulars from the English. They omitted the old articles on Grace (X.), a part being transferred to the new X.; on Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost (XVI.); on the Obligation of the Moral Law (XIX.), part being retained in the new VII.; and against the Millenarians (XLI.), who had been suppressed. On the Holy Scriptures they omitted the clause which conceded that what was neither read therein nor could be proved thereby, might be sometime received of the faithful as godly and profitable for an order and comeliness though not made obligatory. On Predestination they omitted the statement "the Divine decrees are unknown to us," to which the Council of Trent had added "except by special revelation"; and on the Sacraments the stricture upon the phrase *ex opere operato*. They borrowed largely, and in accordance with Elizabethan policy, from the most recent notable Lutheran Confession, the Confession of Württemberg (A.D. 1552)—in particular the clause in Art. II. on the eternal generation and consubstantiality of the Divine Son, and the whole new article on the Holy Spirit, both *verbatim*, the appendix to the article on Scripture, the articles on Free-will and Good Works, and part of the articles on Justification and on the Judicial Authority of the Church. Besides the new articles on the Holy Spirit and on Good Works borrowed from the Lutheran Confession, they added two others—one affirming the Scriptural authority of Communion in both kinds (XXX.), the other denying that wicked or unbelieving persons are partakers of Christ in the Sacrament,

and therefore condemning a Lutheran tenet, for which reason probably it was omitted as impolitic in all the printed copies until 1571. Other changes of addition or substitution, numerous, though small in bulk, strengthened without exception the Protestant character of the whole, reduced the number of the Sacraments explicitly to two, affirmed that Transubstantiation overthrows the nature of a Sacrament, but declared that the body of Christ is after a heavenly manner given, taken, and eaten in the Supper.

The forty-two new Articles thus submitted to Convocation by Parker emerged ten days later reduced in number to *Thirty-nine*. Three articles were omitted as no longer needed against Anabaptist errors (XXXIX. XL. XLII. of the Edwardine Series), denying that the resurrection is already brought to pass, that the souls of the departed die with the bodies or sleep idly, and that all men shall be saved ultimately. Half of Art. III. on Christ's descent into Hell was omitted, including the reference to 1 Pet. iii. 18; in the Article on the Lord's Supper the Zwinglian paragraph denying the ubiquity and the real and bodily presence of Christ's flesh and blood was left out in favour of the brief sentence—"The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after an heavenly and spiritual manner; and the means whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is faith"—a Luthero-Calvinistic alternative. In Art. XX. on the Authority of the Church, the proposition, "The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith: and yet," was prefaced to the existing words "it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word"—an addition innocent enough, indeed implicit already and redundant, omitted in many unauthorized copies of the Articles, but later made the basis of furious controversy, and even credited to the interfering hand of Laud as a spurious interpolation.

Amid the alarms and difficulties caused by Romanist secessions, and the effects of the Bull of excommunication

in 1570 upon timid or wavering spirits, the Houses of Parliament urged upon the Queen a bill to require subscription to the new Articles; but, jealous of her prerogative and resenting the initiative of the Commons, she declined until 1571, when the Articles assumed in Convocation their present form, including XXIX. and the preface to XX., and the bill became law. Changes urged by the growing Puritan party in Convocation, some of whom desired nothing less than a new Confession upon the Continental models, were not passed, and the Articles accordingly remained true to the moderate and mediating Reformed type which from the first had characterized the Anglican Reformation. The polemic of the Edwardine articles against the Lutheran conception of the Supper and of the ubiquity of the actual body of Christ is laid aside, but Lutheran opinions are not set forth save upon less distinctive topics. Zwinglian conceptions are neither affirmed nor denied. Anabaptist heresies are ignored as no longer dangerous to the Church. Sympathy with moderate Calvinism (as expressed, *e.g.*, in the Gallican and Belgic Confessions, A.D. 1559, 1561) remains unimpaired in the Articles on the Sacraments, on Scripture, and on Election and Predestination, though the ecclesiastical supremacy of the sovereign was anything but Calvinistic. Against the abuses and the errors of Rome there is no weakening or wavering of the Anglican protest. With all their halting between two opinions, their want of theological originality, their intentional incompleteness, they have been a noble bulwark of Protestant conviction, and possess a simple dignity and catholicity of their own. Against their measured testimony, spoken with the formula of Trent as clearly in view as those of Lutheranism and Calvinism, even the interpretative casuistry and antiquarian imagination of the Oxford Movement urged their forces in vain. Their intention, their spirit, and their language are unquestionably Protestant. They stand, accordingly, in the closest affinity with the best work both of Wittenberg and of Geneva. They were made

authoritative both in the original Latin and in the English of the Convocation of 1571, though, as Gibson points out,[1] the Act of the 13th of Elizabeth required subscription to the English edition of 1563, which was without Art. XXIX. and the first sentence of Art. XX., and exacted subscription only to the doctrinal as distinct from the disciplinary articles—a concession to the Puritans, and the insistence upon subscription to *all* the Articles in the *final* form of 1571 prepared by Convocation rests upon ecclesiastical not parliamentary authority.

While the Prayer Book of 1559 underwent frequent revision in minor details by royal authority in Elizabeth's reign and later, losing the deprecation against the bishop of Rome, reviving the use of such vestments as had been authorized under the First Prayer Book of Edward, and including a prayer that the sovereign might be kept "in the true worshipping of" God (*i.e.* Protestant worship), it retained essentially the same doctrinal character both in the edition of James I. (A.D. 1604) and in the revision effected by Convocation (A.D. 1661) under Charles II. But the final permanence of the Thirty-nine Articles was not assured for some time. Subscription to all the Articles, first required by Convocation in 1571, was made precise in terms of the *Three Articles* of Archbishop Whitgift in 1583, to be signed by all candidates for orders and for office: (i.) acknowledging the Royal Supremacy in Church as well as State; (ii.) promising the exclusive use of the Prayer Book accepted as in harmony with the Word of God; and (iii.) allowing the Thirty-nine Articles, and believing them all to be agreeable to the Word of God. In 1604 these Three Articles of Subscription received synodal authorization, and were ordered to be signed in the explicit terms:

"I, N. N., do willingly and *ex animo* subscribe to these three articles above mentioned, and to all things that are contained in them."

[1] Vol. i. p. 43 f.

Finally in 1865, by the Clerical Subscription Act, the formula became :

"I, A. B., do solemnly make the following declaration. I assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and to the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons : I believe the doctrine of the Church of England as therein set forth to be agreeable to the Word of God : and in public prayer and administration of the Sacraments I will use the form in the said book prescribed, and none other, except so far as shall be ordered by lawful authority."

The Prayer Book equally with the Articles is thus recognized as the standard of doctrine.

PURITAN ARTICLES.

The Marian persecution drove many of the English Reformers to seek refuge in Geneva, where they came under the influence of Calvin and his thought. Their return to England under Elizabeth introduced into English theology, previously dominated by Lutheran ideas, a new ferment. It was statecraft as much as conservatism that determined the public policy of adherence to the doctrine of Augsburg, which Calvinists could respect in spite of differences of opinion. Consideration for reactionaries restrained the hands that recast the Prayer Book. All Protestant parties, if possible, were to be able to agree upon the Articles. The strength of Calvinistic sympathy prevailing in England during Elizabeth's reign is therefore in danger of being underrated by those who would estimate it by reference to such documents. Genevan ideas were not only a restraining influence in ritual matters, and a power behind both Articles and Service Book, but a force which from the first laid hold upon the Universities, especially Cambridge, the stronghold of Puritan culture and letters, where the *Institutes* of Calvin, based as it was upon the sanest exegesis of Scripture ever yet set forth by Christian scholarship, was long the favourite text-book of systematic theology.

THE NINE LAMBETH ARTICLES.

It was from Cambridge and its Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. Whitaker, an ardent and unflinching adherent of Calvin's system, eminent as the refuter of Bellarmine, that there emanated the *Nine Lambeth Articles* of 1595. They were the outcome of a protracted controversy in the University, following an attack by a rising school of opinion, led by Professor Baro and William Barret, upon the current developed Calvinistic doctrine of the Divine decree as disloyal to the Thirty-nine Articles. They were drawn up by Whitaker at a conference convened at Lambeth by the primate, Dr. Whitgift, who "agreed fully with them," and wrote: "I know them to be sound doctrines and uniformly professed in this Church of England, and agreeable to the Articles of Religion established by authority." They never became statutory, and, indeed, were soon set aside even in Cambridge, where they were promptly imposed; but in the Anglican Church of Ireland they found an instant welcome, and in time passed bodily into the substance of the *Nineteen Irish Articles* of 1615. They are nine in number and extremely brief, and their concern is with the Divine decree in relation to free-will, faith, and unbelief. They affirm:

i. God from eternity hath predestined some to life, and hath reprobated some to death.

ii. The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life is not prevision of faith or perseverance, or of good works, or of anything that is in the predestinate, but solely the will of God's good pleasure.

iii. Of the predestinate there is a prearranged and certain number which can neither be increased nor diminished.

iv. Those who are not predestined to salvation shall of necessity be condemned on account of their sins.

v. True, living, and justifying faith, and the sanctifying Spirit of God is not extinguished, doth not fall away, doth not vanish away in the elect either finally or totally.

vi. A man truly faithful, that is, one endowed with justifying

faith, is certain, with a full assurance of faith, of remission of his sins and everlasting salvation through Christ.

vii. Saving grace is not assigned, communicated, granted to all men to enable them to be saved should they so have willed.

viii. No one can come to Christ unless it shall have been given him, and unless the Father shall have drawn him; and not all men are drawn by the Father to come to the Son.

ix. It is not set within the will or power of every human being to be saved.

The original form of these articles was Latin. They plainly set forth the dark as well as the bright side of the elective decree, in terms which were derived from Calvin's developed theology, not from any Confession he ever drew up. They courageously grapple with the problem of the non-elect; for experience and fact show too plainly in this world that not all men are saved in Christ. All are called; not all enter in who hear the call. It is of grace that men are saved through faith. What, then, corresponds to that grace in the case of lost lives? They are not outside God's providence; they are subject to His will; He enables their every breath and act. His decree must embrace them in its all-pervasive sweep. Destiny is not arbitrary either for good or for evil; it makes room for freedom, and for faith when true free-will has been impaired. God reprobates, from eternity, human sin that is unrelieved by penitence and faith. If He foreknows the issues of our freedom to act and to believe, He may, He must, foreordain both judgment and forgiveness according to the measure of faith. Such is the position which Calvinism, in harmony with a solemn vein of Scripture teaching in both Testaments, and in pursuance of Augustine's convictions, attempts to express. Probably no teaching has ever been more hideously caricatured or more deliberately misunderstood, partly because it probes deep things and taxes the intellect not less than the sentiment of men, partly because it was, in spite of explicit disavowal of God's authorship of sin, interpreted as making the Divine will responsible for sin, partly because it was

thought to lend itself either to religious melancholy and despair or to presumption and hypocrisy. And, in truth, it is most seriously open to criticism precisely because it has been so persistently misunderstood. A doctrine that is apt to be distorted by its adherents not less than by its adversaries is a dangerous thing, and well deserves to be either set aside or hedged about, as in all Calvinistic Confessions, by grave warnings against its light or frequent handling. Its theory can be defended against all comers, from Scripture and from reason, but its use and publication in popular documents meant for ordinary minds has not unnaturally tended to discredit it.

THE IRISH ARTICLES.

At the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, a proposal to insert the Lambeth propositions in the Thirty-nine Articles failed. Though the two documents were in harmony, men might hold the received articles without having either head or heart to acquiesce in the Lambeth addendum as a necessary or wholesome supplement. But in Ireland they were welcomed by the ascendant Puritanism of the Church whose theological guiding-spirit was the learned Ussher, and were embodied by him in the *Irish Articles* "agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops and the rest of the clergy of Ireland in the Convocation holden at Dublin in 1615," which replaced in Ireland the Eleven Articles of Parker as a standard of doctrine until 1635, when, through Laud's urgency, but with Ussher's consent, the Thirty-nine Articles of 1563 were also accepted as a standard, co-ordinate at first, but soon virtually to supplant the others.

Beginning in true Calvinistic fashion with "the Holy Scripture and the Three Creeds," the Irish Articles treat successively in a hundred and four—for the most part brief—propositions, of Faith in the Holy Trinity, Predestination, the Creation and Government of all Things, the Fall and Original Sin, Christ the Mediator of the Second Covenant, the Com-

municating of the Grace of Christ, Justification and Faith, Sanctification and Good Works, the Service of God, the Civil Magistrate, Duty towards our Neighbours, the Church and Ministry, the Authority of the Church, General Councils, and Bishop of Rome, the State of the Old and New Testaments, the Sacraments of the New Testament, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, the State of Departed Souls, the General Resurrection and Last Judgment. They weave together the doctrine and phraseology of the Cranmer Articles with the Lambeth Supplement.

When the Westminster Assembly met, in the first instance, to revise the Thirty-nine Articles, and discontinued work upon that project in favour of a new Confession, it took the Irish Articles of Ussher as the basis of its own formulation, and adhered with close fidelity to the general sequence, doctrine, and language. Though Anglican representatives were invited by the Long Parliament to assist at the Westminster Assembly, their Royalism kept them away; but at least the work of Ussher was regarded with the utmost deference. At the Calvinistic Synod of Dort in 1619 the English Church was represented for a time by a group of distinguished theologians, who acted as advisory assessors without voting power, and endeavoured, to their credit, to mediate between the Remonstrants and their antagonists.

THE ANGLICAN ARTICLES IN AMERICA.

It only remains to be added that the Thirty-nine Articles have held their place throughout the whole Anglican Communion, in the missionary Churches of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Mexico derived from it, in the Scottish Episcopalian Church, as well as in the British Colonies. In the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, however, changes became necessary alike in the Prayer Book and in the Articles. In 1786 a provisional revised Prayer Book was published, known subsequently as the "*Proposed* Book," containing, *inter alia*, "Twenty

Articles of Religion," in which the Thirty-nine appeared recast, with many alterations of a latitudinarian type, the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds being omitted, as also the clause in the *Apostolicum*, "He descended into hell." The Convention of 1786 restored the Nicene Creed and the discretionary use of the omitted clause in the Apostles' Creed, in compliance with the demand of the English Archbishops; but, while the House of Bishops was willing to restore the Athanasian Creed for permissory use, the House of Deputies "would not allow of the Creed in any shape." In 1799 a special Convention considered, without sanctioning, a Revision in *Seventeen Articles*. At last, in 1801, it was agreed to retain the Thirty-nine Articles revised, with the sole theological change of the omission of the Athanasian Symbol, other changes being political. Art. 21, *Of the Authority of General Councils*, was omitted, but its place and title retained for an explanatory note: "The 21st of the former Articles is omitted, because it is partly of a local and civil nature, and is provided for as to the remaining parts of it in other Articles." To Art. 35, *Of Homilies*, a note is added: "This article is received in this Church so far as it declares the Books of Homilies to be an explication of Christian doctrine and instructive in piety and morals. But all references to the constitution and laws of England are considered as inapplicable to the circumstances of this Church, which also suspends the order for the reading of said homilies in churches until a revision of them may conveniently be made, for the clearing of them as well from obsolete words and phrases, as from the local references." The 36th Art., *Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers*, reads thus: "The Book of Consecration of Bishops and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, as set forth by the General Convention of this Church in 1792, doth contain all things necessary to such consecration and ordering: neither hath it anything that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to said form, we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully con-

secrated and ordered." In place of the 37th Art., *Of the Civil Magistrates*, there appears *Of the Power of the Civil Magistrate*: "The power of the Civil Magistrate extendeth to all men, as well Clergy as Laity, in all things temporal; but hath no authority in things purely spiritual. And we hold it to be the duty of all men who are professors of the Gospel to pay respectful obedience to the civil authority regularly and legitimately constituted." In the Prayer Book the Athanasian Creed was, of course, omitted, while the influence of Bishop Seabury, who had been consecrated at Aberdeen, secured the restoration of the Prayer of Oblation and Consecration from the Scottish and earlier Edwardine Prayer Books.

In 1873 there was prepared by the *Reformed Episcopal Church* of America, which, in protest against Anglican ritualism and exclusiveness, had seceded from the Protestant Episcopal Church, a *Declaration of Principles*:

I. The Reformed Episcopal Church, holding "the faith once delivered unto the saints," declares its belief in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God, and the sole rule of faith and practice: in the Creed "commonly called the Apostles' Creed"; in the Divine institution of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper: and in the doctrines of grace substantially as they are set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. II. This Church recognizes and adheres to Episcopacy, not as of Divine right, but as a very ancient and desirable form of Church polity. III. This Church, retaining a liturgy which shall not be imperative or repressive of freedom in prayer, accepts the Book of Common Prayer as it was revised, prepared, and recommended for use by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, A.D. 1785, reserving full liberty to alter, abridge, enlarge, and amend the same as may seem most conducive to the edification of the people, provided that the substance of the faith be kept entire. IV. This Church condemns and rejects the following erroneous and strange doctrines as contrary to God's Word:—*first*: that the Church of Christ exists only in one order or form of ecclesiastical polity; *second*: that Christian ministers are "priests" in another sense than that in which all believers are "a royal priesthood"; *third*: that the Lord's Table is an altar on which the

oblation of the body and blood of Christ is offered anew to the Father; *fourth*: that the Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper is a presence in the elements of Bread and Wine; *fifth*: that Regeneration is inseparably connected with Baptism.

These principles are obviously such as would form a basis of any reunion of Episcopal and Presbyterian and other evangelical Churches.

In 1874 the Prayer Book was revised along the lines of the "Proposed Book" of 1786, with the omission of the Athanasian Creed, the clause "He descended into hell," and the thanksgiving at baptism for the child's regeneration, and with the substitution of "minister" and "Lord's table" for "priest" and "altar" throughout. In 1875 the *Thirty-five Articles* were approved—a series more closely parallel with the Thirty-nine than either the Twenty of 1785 or the Seventeen of 1799, giving effect to the modifications required by the Declaration of Principles.

ANGLICAN CATECHISMS.

In 1548, three years after Henry VIII. issued his "Primer," or devotional manual of the familiar acts of worship, to replace similar Roman Catholic "Primers," Cranmer translated and issued, with modifications, the Wittenberg Catechism of Justus Jonas—the work known as *Cranmer's Catechism*. With the successive issues of the Prayer Book under Edward and Elizabeth, authoritative Catechisms appeared under the title "Confirmation, wherein is contained a Catechism for Children." In 1604, by authority of the king, the explanation of the Sacraments by Dean Overall of St. Paul's was added, and in the final revision of 1661 the title became simply *The Catechism*. In this form practically it was received by the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, and also by the Catholic Apostolic or Irvingite Church. It begins with the question, "What is your name?" It discusses baptism and its meaning; the Apostles' Creed as implied in baptism; the commandments to be obeyed, and their

summary in two; the Lord's Prayer; the Sacraments, the inward part or thing signified in the Lord's Supper being "the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." The last question, "What is required of them who come to the Lord's Supper?" is answered thus: "To examine themselves, whether they repent them truly of their former sins, steadfastly purposing to lead a new life; have a lively faith in God's mercy through Christ with a thankful remembrance of His death; and be in charity with all men."

Larger Catechisms for older minds were prepared, *e.g.* one by Bishop Poynet of Winchester, issued in 1553 with the countenance of Cranmer and Convocation; and, on its model, one in three grades by Dean Nowell of St. Paul's in 1562. Perhaps the absence of any remarkable Anglican Catechisms may be explained in part by the wide and lasting currency of the approved Continental manuals, *e.g.* those of Luther, Jonas, Œcolampadius, Calvin, and Bullinger.

CHAPTER XII.

CONFESSIONS IN THE ZWINGLIAN (PRESBYTERIAN) CHURCHES.

INTRODUCTION.

ALTHOUGH, as we have seen, the influence of Ulrich Zwingli may be traced in Confessions beyond the pale of strictly Zwinglian Churches, the documents to be considered in this section form a compact group belonging to the forty years preceding 1566.[1] They are practically contemporary with the earliest group of Lutheran documents and are the true pioneers of the great Corpus of "Reformed" standards, most of which reflect the views of Calvin. They belong to German Switzerland, and were formed in the cultured cities of Zürich, Bern, and Basel. They breathe the vigorous, independent, liberal, and devout atmosphere surrounding the personality of their chief inspirer, in whom, more than any other of the leaders of the Reformation, the instincts of Humanism were paramount. The characteristic views of Zwingli shocked contemporary Lutherans and Calvinists almost as violently as they startled Romanists who, not unnaturally and perhaps not unjustly, represented them as the logical and inevitable outcome of the whole Reformation impulse. Happily much was done by mutual explanations and by fraternal intercourse to bring together Zwinglians and their co-Reformers, and at the present time there is a

[1] GENERAL LITERATURE.—SCHAFF, *History of Creeds*, and *Creeds of the Evang. Prot. Churches*; MÜLLER, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche*; LINDSAY, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. ii.; HAUCK-HERZOG, *Realencycl.*, 3rd ed., the relevant articles. The first three works in conjunction leave little to be desired in regard either to the history or to the contents of the Zwinglian documents.

creditable and gratifying increase of readiness in Calvinistic and Lutheran lands to write and speak of Zwingli without caricature and misrepresentation. Beyond question, innumerable devout Christians who willingly conform to the Sacramental observances of the Lutheran, Calvinistic, Anglican, and even Roman Churches, cherish personally a conception of their meaning which approximates very closely to that of the undaunted chief pastor of Zürich.

The salient general features of Zwinglian doctrine comprise an absolute and exclusive reliance in all matters of faith, organization, and usage, upon Scriptural warrant as distinct from ecclesiastical tradition, a confidence in common sense and historical perspective as means for the right interpretation of Scripture, an evangelic faith in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Christ and Christians, a sense of individual present-day responsibility and authority, and therewith of ministerial and indeed of general Christian parity natural to citizens in republican States, an emphasis upon practical morality springing from justifying faith, a scholarly openness of mind and an unpriestly dislike of mystery and circumstance, and in reference to the Lord's Supper a resting in its memorial aspect, explicitly set forth by Christ in the words *in remembrance of Me*, as sufficient definition of its purpose, without denying to the act of communion the spiritual presence of the risen Christ, who is in the midst of the two or three gathered together in His name, and who is with His people alway, the elements and their appropriation being alike merely symbolic of corresponding spiritual realities. As one considers the remarkable anticipation by Zwingli of the modern tendencies of Reformed Christendom, in regard to Sacramental and Scriptural interpretation, the meaning of original sin, the union of Churches, and the simplification of doctrine, parity of Christian members lay and clerical, and the happy fate of departed infants and heathen saints and sages, one is constrained to join in the chorus of regret that a mind so gifted, a character so disinterested, a will so courageous,

a piety so profound, should have been cut off from earthly service so early in his career as a reformer and as a teacher.

THE SIXTY-SEVEN ARTICLES OF ZÜRICH.

The Sixty-seven Articles of Zürich were prepared for, and maintained at, the great public disputation held in that city in 1523, which virtually decided the repudiation of Rome. They thus correspond to Luther's Theses of six years before. Though not enforced as a standard, they were an epoch-making theological manifesto, and exercised a certain local normative function. They are a series of brief, trenchant, firm, and warm-toned sentences. They have the same shrewdness, picturesqueness, homeliness, impressiveness, and point, that arrest the mind and haunt the memory in Luther's sentences. As one reads them, one can readily appreciate the amazing freshness and the stirring power with which they appealed to the fettered minds of the prisoners of ecclesiastical tradition and sacerdotal tyranny. The Reformation produced no more impressive or thought-provoking document. Their scope, purport, and form may best be gathered from a few examples in their own words.

1. All who say that the Gospel is nothing without the approval of the Church err and cast reproach upon God.

2. The sum of the Gospel is that our Lord Jesus Christ, the true Son of God, has made known to us the will of His heavenly Father, and redeemed us by His innocence from eternal death and reconciled us to God.

3. Therefore Christ is the only way to salvation for all who were, who are, and who shall be.

7, 8. Christ is the Head of all believers. All who live in this Head are His members, and children of God. And this is the true Catholic Church, the Communion of saints.

17. Christ is the one eternal High Priest. Therefore those who give themselves out as high priests are opposed to the glory and power of Christ and reject Christ.

18. Christ, who offered Himself once on the Cross, is the sufficient

and perpetual sacrifice for the sins of all believers. Therefore the Mass is no sacrifice, but a commemoration of the one sacrifice of the Cross and a seal of the redemption through Christ.

22. Christ is our righteousness. Hence it follows that our works are good so far as they are Christ's, but not good so far as they are our own.

24. No Christian is bound to works which Christ has not enjoined: he can eat when and what he pleases. It follows therefore that "cheese and butter letters" are Roman impositions.

27. All Christians are brethren of Christ, and brethren one with another: therefore they ought not to call any one "father" upon earth. This does away with orders, sects, factions, etc.

34. The so-called spiritual power has no ground for its display in the teaching of Christ.

49. Greater scandal I know not than that priests should be forbidden lawful wedlock but allowed for money to have concubines. Shame on it!

50. God alone forgives sins, and that through Christ Jesus, our Lord, alone.

52. Confession therefore to priest or neighbour ought not to be for remission of sins but for consultation.

57. Holy Scripture knows of no purgatory after this life.

58. The judgment of the deceased is known to God alone.

59. The less that God reveals to us concerning these matters, the less ought they to be searched into by us.

60. If any one in anxiety for the dead beseeches or prays for favour to them from God, I do not condemn him; but to appoint a time concerning it,—a seven-year for a mortal sin,—and to lie for profit, is not human but devilish.

62. Scripture knows no other presbyters or priests than those who proclaim God's word.

67. Should any one care to discuss with me interest, tithes, unbaptized children, confirmation, I profess myself ready to reply.

THE ZÜRICH INTRODUCTION.

In the same year a second public disputation was held in Zürich on Images and the Mass, and it was followed by the sending of an authoritative Instruction to the

clergy of the Canton, written by Zwingli, with the title, "*A Brief Christian Introduction* which the Honourable Council of the City of Zürich has sent to the pastors and preachers living in its cities, lands, and wherever its authority extends, so that they may henceforth in unison announce and preach the Gospel." This important and by no means "brief" declaration,[1] after a preliminary exhortation to pray earnestly for the light of God's word so that present troubles may be done away, discusses sin and repentance, the basis of Christ's teaching, the law as the opening of God's will, the Gospel the offer of His grace, the way of salvation by faith in Christ and the annulling of the law, the idolatrous results of the presence of images in churches, and finally the Mass as no sacrifice repeated, no offering and partaking of the physical body and blood, but grateful and believing commemoration of the dying Saviour and communion with the living Lord.

THE TEN CONCLUSIONS OF BERN.

In 1528 the magistrates of Bern followed the example of Zürich, and arranged for a public disputation upon Scriptural evidence. Berthold Haller, the local Reformer, with the aid of his colleague Francis Kolb and of Zwingli, drew up *The Ten Conclusions of Bern* as a basis of discussion, Zwingli turning them into Latin, Farel into French. Among the cities represented were Zürich, Basel, Constance, Strassburg, Augsburg, and Ulm; among the advocates of reform, Zwingli, Bucer, and Œcolampadius, in addition to Haller and Kolb. The conclusions were approved "as Christian" by the great majority of the delegates, and accepted "for ever," to be observed "at cost of life and property." They became not only binding in Bern, but a manifesto respected over a wide area in and beyond

[1] Printed, after the Theses, in the quaint original Swiss-German, by E. F. K. Müller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 7-29.

Switzerland—the first more than cantonal definition of the Swiss type of Reformed faith.

Article I. defines the holy Christian Church, whose only Head is Christ, as "born of the Word," as abiding in it, and not hearkening to the word of another.

Article II. states that "the Church of Christ does not lay down laws and commandments beyond the Word of God: therefore all human traditions, called ecclesiastical, are only binding so far as they are founded and prescribed in the Word of God."

Article III. "Christ is our only wisdom, righteousness, redemption, and atonement for the sins of the whole world: therefore to acknowledge any other saving and atoning amends for sin is to deny Christ."

Article IV. is the most memorable; it says: "That the body and blood of Christ is perceived essentially and corporeally in the Eucharistic bread, cannot be proved from Holy Scripture."

Article V. "The Mass, according to current usage, in which Christ is offered to God the Father for the sins of quick and dead, is contrary to Scripture, blasphemes the most holy sacrifice, passion, and death of Christ, and by reason of abuses is abominable in the sight of God."

Article VI. on the ground of Christ's sole mediatorship, condemns the adoration and invocation of saints.

Article VII. sets aside as un-Scriptural the doctrine of purgatory, and all rites and practices based upon it.

Article VIII. declares the making of images for worship to be contrary to Old and New Testament Scripture. Where they are liable to be adored they must be abolished.

Articles IX. and X. proclaim the lawfulness of marriage to all orders of men according to Scripture: fornication and impurity are warrant for excommunication; to no class are they more pernicious than to the clergy.

Later controversy in Bern was brought to a close in 1532 by a Synod of two hundred and thirty preachers, which issued with authority a lengthy series of doctrinal paragraphs introduced by an epistolary preface. These *Articles or Admonitions of the Synod of Bern* run to

forty-five substantial paragraphs abounding in Scripture citations, the whole taking the form of an instruction by pastors to pastors, practical theology being mingled throughout with Scriptural or doctrinal.[1]

ZWINGLI'S CONFESSION TO CHARLES V.

Two notable productions from Zwingli's own vigorous but hasty pen must be mentioned, though they were personal manifestos only, without Synodal authorization. He composed in 1530 a *Confession of Faith to the Emperor Charles V.*, for presentation at the great Diet at Augsburg. Though uninvited, and, like the Tetrapolitan Confession of Bucer and Capito, unwelcome and unheeded save for a virulent reply by the unresting Eck, spurned and resented not only by Romanists but by Lutherans, including even Melanchthon, who abhorred its denial of the corporeal presence in the Sacrament, and were anxious to dissociate their cause before the Emperor from Zwinglian and Anabaptist extremists, it was a legitimate, timely, and dignified representation of the Swiss type of faith, and is justly praised by Müller for the transparent candour with which it avows its author's characterisic convictions on Divine Providence, original sin, and the Supper, for the judgment of the Church at large by Scripture standards.

The address of this *Fidei Ratio*, itself prefaced by the mottoes, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," and "Let truth prevail," is followed by twelve paragraphs, and terminates with a solemn undertaking to maintain the truth stated not as his own, but as Scriptural, and an appeal to the princes met in council to weigh it well, and if it be from God not to fight against it, but to resist the tyranny of corrupt Rome. Persecution and excommunication have failed. Let another way be tried: 'Idcirco sinite verbum Dei libere et spargi et germinare, O filii hominum, quicunque estis, qui ne gramen quidem vetare ne adolescat potestis. Abunde videtis hanc frugem imbre cœlesti rigari, nec ullo hominum calore compesci posse ut arescat. Con-

[1] For full text of chief chapters, see Müller, *op. cit.* pp. 31–55.

siderate non quid vos maxime cupiatis, sed quid mundus in Evangelii negocio exigat. Boni consulite, quicquid hoc est, et filios Dei vos esse studiis vestris ostendite."

Chapter i. re-affirms the teaching of the Catholic Creeds on the Divine Trinity and on the Person of Christ.

Chapter ii. affirms the Divine freedom, foreknowledge, goodness, which includes mercy as well as justice, and predestination, which as Divine cannot be conditional on our faith, but precedes it, and disposes all things, good and evil, freely.

Chapter iii. describes Christ as the one way to reconciliation and happiness, election being election to salvation through faith in Him.

Chapter iv. discusses original sin as different in us from Adam's wilful transgression, as properly a taint or disease rather than a true sin, a condition. He, having become a slave through forfeit of his freedom, could only beget slaves. Yet it may be spoken of as sin, for it makes us natural enemies of God, and entails upon us inevitable death. Its effect is exactly annulled by the atonement of the Second Adam.

Chapter v. affirms that it is rash to speak of infants, even those of heathen parents, as ever damned.

Chapter vi. defines the various uses of the term "Church," in particular the invisible or true and inward,—that is, elect believers and their children who constitute the Bride of Christ, —as distinct from the outward and visible,—that is, nominal Christians and their households, who correspond to the whole Ten Virgins in the Lord's Parable: the former alone is inerrant.

Chapter vii. denies that sacraments have power to confer grace apart either from faith in the recipient or from the antecedent influence of the Spirit, and discusses Baptism.

Chapter viii. at great length and with extreme care and insight, treats of the Lord's Supper in the light of Scripture, reason, and the great Fathers, disproving the corporeal, and proving the spiritual, presence, the elements being symbols representative and commemorative of the atoning death of Christ, whose benefits are communicated to us through faith.

Chapter ix. admits that ceremonies, neither contrary to Scripture nor destructive of faith through superstition, may be tolerated for the sake of charity until the dayspring brightens, though the existence of any such is doubtful; but, wherever

possible without extreme offence, they are rigorously to be abolished. Images prostituted to worship are diametrically opposed to Scripture. Those, however, which are not exposed for worship, are liable to be future objects of worship, "so far am I from condemning that I recognize both painting and sculpture to be gifts of God."

Chapters x. and xi. treat respectively of the offices of the Preacher and the Civil Magistrate as necessary and Divinely appointed.

Chapter xii. discredits belief in Purgatory.

ZWINGLI'S EXPOSITION TO FRANCIS I.

In 1531, three months before his death, Zwingli, at the request of the French Ambassador, composed what Bullinger calls his swan-song, the *Brief and Clear Exposition of Christian Faith to Francis I. of France*, the monarch to whom he had previously dedicated his chief work, the *Commentarius de Vera et Falsa Religione*, and to whom Calvin five years later was to dedicate his *Institutes*. This vigorous document repeats, in somewhat varied order and at shorter length, the teaching of its predecessor.

CONFESSIONS OF FRIESLAND AND STRASSBURG.

Meanwhile two Confessions, composed outside Switzerland by other than Swiss theologians, gave evidence of the wide spread of Zwingli's teaching. In 1528 a conference of preachers adopted the *Confession of East Friesland*, prepared by the Reformer Aportanus, in which [1] thirty brief articles, followed by a summary, set forth pure Zwinglian doctrine concerning the Word of God and the Sacraments in sharp distinction from Romanist, and in tolerant discrimination from Lutheran views. In 1530, still in Zwingli's lifetime, there was prepared by Bucer and Capito, for submission to the Emperor and Diet at Augsburg, the *Confession of Strassburg*. It

[1] Müller, pp. xxi, 930.

is also known as the *Confession of the Four Cities* (*Tetrapolitana*), inasmuch as Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau joined with Strassburg in accepting it.[1] Put together in some haste, and in part from pre-existing materials composed by Capito, it states and vindicates from Scripture characteristically Zwinglian ideas of Christian faith, life, and institutions, in twenty-three substantial paragraphs, marking itself sharply off from Lutheranism by its sacramental doctrine, its repudiation of images and pictures, and its exclusive appeal to Holy Writ.

THE FIRST CONFESSION OF BASEL.

After Zwingli's death, the continuation and development of his work is manifest in a series of Confessional documents emanating from other Swiss towns.

At Basel, where the Reformation was somewhat stormily introduced in 1529, a Confession of Faith was drafted in 1531 by Zwingli's friend and henchman Œcolampadius, shortly before his death. Revised by Myconius in 1532, it was adopted by the city authorities in 1534, and by the city of Mühlhausen in Alsace soon afterwards. It is known as the *First Confession of Basel,* or as the *Confession of Mühlhausen.* Its twelve articles form a brief, simple, dignified, and moderate statement of Zwinglian doctrine as distinguished both from Romanist and from Anabaptist teaching. Though it is an exception to the rule of "Reformed" Confessions, in not starting with an appeal to Scripture as the sole rule of faith, it ends with the equivalent noteworthy declaration: "We submit this our Confession to the judgment of the Divine Scriptures, and hold ourselves ready always thankfully to obey God and His Word if we should be corrected out of the said Holy Scriptures"—a declaration which may have inspired the similar undertaking in the Scots Confession of 1560. This venerable document maintained its

[1] Müller, pp. xxiii, 55.

position in the Church of Basel down to our own time, succumbing only in 1872 to the modern anti-Confessional movement.[1]

THE FIRST HELVETIC CONFESSION.

At Basel, also, there was composed in 1536 a still more notable document, the *First Helvetic Confession*, or *Second Confession of Basel*. It owed its origination to the peace-making genius of the Strassburg theologians Bucer and Capito, who made it their great aim to reconcile the Swiss and Lutheran schools of Protestant doctrine—and also to the prospect of an Œcumenical Council being convened at Mantua. Theological representatives were sent by the Reformed cities of Switzerland—Bucer and Capito by Strassburg—to a conference at Basel. Bullinger, Myconius, Grynæus, Leo Judæ, and Megander were instructed to prepare the Confession; Leo Judæ prepared the free German version. Their work, after discussion, was unanimously accepted and subscribed by the delegates, and became the first general Swiss Confession, the first "Reformed" Confession of national authority. It is longer than its forerunner, containing twenty-seven short paragraphs.

The first five articles affirm that Holy Scripture alone contains all that promotes the true knowledge, love, and honouring of God, right and true piety, and a pious, honourable, and godly life; it is its own sole interpreter; the Fathers are to be received only so far as in harmony with that interpretation; human traditions, however specious, are vain; the aim and end of Scripture is to declare the grace and goodwill of God to man in Christ, appropriated by faith alone, and evidenced through love to others.

Art. 6 treats of God the Three in One.

Artt. 7–10 discuss man as God's most perfect image on earth, immortal in soul, mortal in body, noblest and highest of creatures, created faultless, but by his own fault fallen into sin; original sin; free-will; God's eternal plan of restoration.

[1] Müller, pp. xxv, 95–100.

Artt. 11 and 12 treat of Jesus Christ, and "what we have through Him"; and of the true aim of evangelical teaching, to persuade that it is by God's mercy and Christ's merit alone that we are saved.

Artt. 13 and 14 expound faith in the grace of God as the means of salvation: without trusting to works, it is prolific of them.

Artt. 15–20 treat of the Church, built upon the rock of living faith; of the ministry of the Word; of ecclesiastical authority; of the election of ministers; of Christ the chief shepherd; of the office of the ministry.

Artt. 21–23 discuss the Sacraments in language obviously intended to re-assure Lutherans, and to vindicate Swiss-Reformed reverence: they are holy symbols of high mysteries, not mere or empty signs, but significant signs accompanying spiritual realities; in Baptism, water is the sign, regeneration and adoption the reality; in the Supper the bread and wine are the signs, communion of the body and blood of the Lord is the spiritual reality: as the senses and members of the body apprehend the signs, so the soul receives the realities in which the whole fruit of the ordinance resides; the sacraments, therefore, are not only emblems of Christian membership in the Church, but symbols of Divine grace; the body and blood of Christ means Himself, His life, received and appropriated so that more and more He lives in us, and we in Him; the Sacraments are to be reverenced exceedingly for their significance, and for their sanctity as coming from the Lord's hands, but they owe their power and sacredness solely to Him, the Life.

Artt. 24–28 deal with public worship and ceremonies; with things neither commanded nor forbidden; with heretics and schismatics; with the civil magistrate; and with holy marriage.

Though the Confession was not destined to fulfil its purpose by being submitted to a General Council at Mantua, and, at the desire of the Strassburg delegates, long remained unprinted (Bullinger and Leo Judæ, indeed, are said to have desired the insertion of a clause deprecating its use as a rule of faith lest it should usurp the place of Holy Writ, the only true and sufficient bond of evangelical union), it continued for long to be the acknowledged embodiment of the faith of the Swiss Reformers. Alike in its Latin and in its fuller and more vigorous German form, both of

which were authoritative, it is an attractive and impressive product of Swiss thought.

At Lausanne, later in the same year 1536, the military victory of the Reformation cause was followed up, under Bernese influences, by a theological disputation upon Theses prepared by Farel, in which the youthful Calvin took part. These *Ten Theses of Lausanne* (given by Müller, p. 110) form a very brief outline of doctrine, echoing the First Helvetic Confession. Re-cast, or expanded, they were made officially binding in the same year.

THE CONSENSUS OF ZÜRICH.

At Zürich, in 1545, Bullinger was constrained to vindicate his Zwinglian colleagues against the persistent polemic of Luther, which had found expression that year in a "Short Confession on the Holy Sacrament," by issuing a *True Confession of the Ministers of the Church in Zürich . . . in particular on the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ.*[1] Neither in form nor in authority is the work a Confession. It is a theological manifesto or argument, firmly and unmistakably Zwinglian in character, and it prepared the way for the *Consensus of Zürich* of 1549, in which Bullinger and Calvin expressed their agreement on the Lord's Supper over against Lutheran influences and Swiss divisive tendencies. Calvin had taken exception to the extremer positions maintained by Bullinger in his last Confession. His objections were accepted in a friendly spirit. A fresh treatise was submitted to him in 1546. The outcome of his judgment on it was the formulation of a series of propositions, which Bullinger in turn divided into twenty-six articles, and which contained the substance of the Consensus of 1549.[2] If Calvin was the author of this Consensus, which linked together the Churches of Zürich and Geneva and found acceptance in other countries, the influence of Bullinger pervades it, and it served as a welcome proof of the essential kinship of the two schools.

[1] Extract in Müller, pp. 153–159.

[2] Müller, pp. 159–163.

Henceforward there was theological harmony in Protestant Switzerland, and Melanchthon, though he rejected the clauses which made election the condition of the efficacy of the sacraments, abandoned all suspicion and hostility towards the Swiss. The twenty-six articles are brief, lucid, consistent. They repudiate Lutheran not less than Romanist conceptions of the Presence. The Lord's body is not locally on earth, but in heaven. The elements are not to be adored. The Spirit of God is the active energy; His grace and the communion of Christ are essentially independent of the elements and the partaking, for it is antecedent faith that appropriates—"fideles ante et extra sacramentorum usum Christo quoque communicant"; transubstantiation and consubstantiation are equally absurd.

THE RHÆTIAN CONFESSION.

At a Synod of the Reformed Churches in the Rhætian Alps, approval was given in 1552 to a Confession—the *Confessio Rhætica*—drawn up by Saluz Gallicius, and intended to establish a uniform system of doctrine in place of the existing theological chaos, in which Anabaptist, Lutheran, Zwinglian, Romanist, Socinian, and pantheistic teachings mingled. In 1553 it was submitted to Bullinger, who cordially approved of it; and thereafter for centuries, in spite of the subsequent local recognition of the Second Helvetic Confession, it remained the authoritative Rhætian formula.[1] It opens with a tribute of loyalty to the three ancient Creeds; condemns the vanities of human learning and wisdom and contentions about words; asserts Christ crucified, risen and ascended, to be the one foundation, and faith in Him to be the one means of salvation for fallen humanity. At greater length it affirms God's sovereignty, denies His responsibility for sin, and urges sobriety and caution in speaking of His predestination. Most fully and interestingly it sets forth, with illustrations from the Gospels and Epistles, the Zwinglian conception

[1] Müller, pp. 163–170, where the doctrinal portions are given in full.

of the Sacraments, citing, in support of a metaphorical interpretation of the words "This is my body," similar figures from the teachings of Christ and of Paul, where a literal sense is out of the question; it proves from the Gospels the physical absence of Christ from earth, but asserts His spiritual presence; it recognizes a spiritual eating and drinking of His body and blood, in the sense of John vi.; it acknowledges the Sacraments to be "symbola, adeoque obsignationes divinæ gratiæ et donorum Dei." Finally, it deprecates any comparison between the authority of the Bible and its own; and it undertakes, in the most emphatic and in repeated terms, to welcome correction and amendment wherever it may be found unfaithful to the Scriptures, "for we well remember that we are but men, and are therefore prone to error, ignorance, and deception." Throughout, its language is popular, its arguments are shrewd and well-informed, and its desire to maintain a Scriptural simplicity obvious and sincere.

THE SECOND HELVETIC CONFESSION.

Last and greatest in the Zwinglian series is the *Second Helvetic Confession*, the *magnum opus* of Henry Bullinger. If the Confession of 1531 was Zwingli's "swan-song," this was Bullinger's own; for it was in 1562, while awaiting the expected call of death, that he gave the hours of his enforced leisure to its composition. It is the quiet overflow of his mature conviction, put in writing without polemical occasion and without ecclesiastical requisition, the last and private confession of a scholar and churchman who had been called to assist in the preparation of many public Confessions. Two years later, during the ravages of the plague at Zürich, he conceived the idea of leaving it to the chief magistrate after his death, as a testimony and guide to faith. But in the end of 1565 he received a request for such a statement from Frederick III., the Elector Palatine, who was desirous of proving, before the forthcoming Diet at Augsburg, that his Reformed

profession was no merely individual or local faith, but a system of doctrine held in common by evangelical believers in Switzerland, Holland, France, and Britain also. The Confession was dispatched with the assurance that it was "in harmony with the confession of the ancient Apostolic orthodox catholic Church, and likewise with all the faithful who with pure faith profess Christ throughout the churches of Germany, France, England, and other kingdoms and lands"; and it was received with enthusiasm, and ordered to be published in a German version, with a view to promoting common action among the Reformed Churches. In Switzerland, except at Basel, it was, with slight modifications, at once approved universally, and accordingly the Elector could present it to the Diet of 1566 as an already authoritative document. In the same year it was accepted by the Reformed Church in Scotland, in 1567 in Hungary, in 1571 in France and in Poland, and it was approved in many other lands, without superseding the local standards. No other Confession, save its immediate predecessor, the Heidelberg Catechism of 1563, has ever rivalled it in popularity or in authority among the Reformed Churches of the Continent. In theological ability and in doctrinal interest few Confessions can bear comparison with it. Objection may well be taken to it as an official document, on the ground of its great length and its combination of comprehensiveness and detail; but it would be difficult to conceive of a theological manifesto, or compendium of doctrine, more attractive in form and matter, more lucid, effective, and shrewd, more loyal to Scripture, or more instinct with common sense. It is no small tribute to its merits that its appearance was the signal for the cessation of theological controversy and unrest in Switzerland, and that it enjoyed, during so many centuries of eager thought and change, an unchallenged authority.

It consists of 30 chapters.[1]

[1] Printed in full, in Latin, by Müller, *op. cit.* pp. 170–221, and by Schaff, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 233–306, including prefaces; and in an elaborate English summary by Schaff, *Hist. of Creeds*, pp. 396–420.

The chapters vary in length from one or two pages upwards, and treat in succession of Holy Scripture, of its interpretation, the Fathers, Councils and Traditions; of God, His unity and trinity; of idols or images of God, Christ, and of deities; of the adoration, worship, and invocation of God through the only mediator Jesus Christ; of the Providence of God; of creation, angels, the devil, and man; of the Fall, of sin, and its cause; of free-will and human power; of predestination and the election of saints; of Jesus Christ, true God and man, the only Saviour of the world; of the Law of God; of the Gospel, its promises, spirit, and letter; of repentance and conversion; of the true justification of believers; of faith and good works and their rewards, and human merit; of the Catholic and holy Church of God and its only Head; of ministers of the Church, and their institution and duties; of the Sacraments; of Baptism; of the Lord's Supper; of religious meetings; of prayers, praise, and appointed times of worship; of festivals, fasts, and meats; of catechizing; of consolation and visitation of the sick; of Christian burial, care for the dead, purgatory, apparitions of spirits; of rites, ceremonies, and things indifferent; of church property; of celibacy and marriage; of the civil magistrate.

Its doctrinal standpoint is characteristic of the author and the time—a combination of the positions of Zwingli and Calvin, with an unbending attitude towards Rome, whose Tridentine Confession was being formulated at the selfsame time; with a courteous tone towards Lutheranism; with a firm adherence to the ancient Catholic Creeds, which are printed in the preface as authoritative; and with an underlying conviction that the doctrinal re-union of Christendom was possible upon a Scriptural basis alone, Confessional revision and re-adjustment being a Christian duty as better knowledge of the Word of God was attained.

Chapters 1 and 2 deal with the doctrine of Scripture as the supreme authority, being God's Word, as their own interpreter in the light of context and kindred passages, as God's normal means of revelation and edification, and as setting aside all other authority,—traditional, Patristic, or even Apostolic,—the Apocrypha being for the first time in Confessional history expressly excluded from the Canon.

Ch. 3 affirms the unity and trinity of God, accepts the Apostles' Creed, condemns "Jews and Mohammedans and all who blaspheme this holy and adorable Trinity," and "all heretics who deny the deity of Christ and the Holy Ghost."

Ch. 4 condemns images, since God is a spirit and cannot be represented by an image; though Christ assumed man's nature, it was not to pose for sculptors and painters.

Ch. 5 condemns adoration or invocation of saints: "nevertheless we neither despise nor undervalue the saints, but honour them as the members of Christ and the friends of God who have gloriously overcome the flesh and the world; we love them as brethren and hold them up as examples of faith and virtue, desiring to dwell with them eternally in heaven and to rejoice with them in Christ.

Ch. 6 declares God's Providence to be over all, operating through means to ends; "we disapprove of the rash words of those who say that our efforts and endeavours are vain."

Ch. 7–9 says that man consists of two diverse substances in one person—of an immortal soul, which, when separated from the body, neither sleeps nor dies, and of a mortal body, which at the last judgment shall be raised again from the dead. "We condemn those who deny the immortality, or affirm the sleep of the soul, or teach that it is a part of God." Man was created in true righteousness, good and upright, but of his own guilt fell; sin is our inborn corruption; as years roll on, we bring forth evil thoughts, words, and deeds, as corrupt trees corrupt fruits; only the regenerate can think or do good; only the regenerate and converted are truly free; they are not passive but active, "being moved by the Spirit of God to do of themselves what they do"; yet the unregenerate are *willing* slaves to sin, they are not as mere stocks or stones, utterly devoid of will and responsibility.

Ch. 10, on Predestination and Election, is especially interesting. It is frankly and simply Scriptural in its terms. It has been claimed alike as Calvinistic, Arminian, and Melanchthonian, and could be approved by each type of theologian, for it is a moderate Calvinism or Augustinianism that it expresses. Election and predestination is wholly of grace, it is in Christ and for His sake. Though "a small number of the elect" is spoken of, we ought to think well of all, and not seek out of Christ whether we are chosen, or count particular persons reprobate. We are to listen

to the offers of grace undoubtingly, and trust God's love in Christ who is to be the "mirror in which we behold our predestination." "We shall have a sufficient testimony of being written in the book of life if we live in communion with Christ, and if in true faith He is ours and we are His." So are we to "work out our own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God who worketh in us both to will and to do according to His good pleasure."

Ch. 11, defining the Person of Christ and distinguishing the two natures, accepts "believingly and reverently the *communication of properties*, which is deduced from Scripture and employed by the universal ancient Church in explaining and reconciling passages apparently in contradiction."

Ch. 14 follows up the citation of New Testament illustrations of penitence with a typical passage: "It is sufficient to confess our sins to God in private and in the public service; it is not necessary to confess to a priest, for this is nowhere commanded in the Scriptures; although we may seek counsel and comfort from a minister of the gospel in time of distress and trial (cf. Jas. v. 16). The keys of the kingdom of heaven, out of which the Papists forge swords, sceptres, and crowns, are given to all legitimate ministers of the Church in the preaching of the Gospel and the maintenance of discipline (Matt. xvi. 19; John xx. 23; Mark xvi. 15; 2 Cor. v. 18, 19). We condemn the lucrative Popish doctrines of penance and indulgences, and apply to them Peter's word to Simon Magus, *Thy money perish with thee.*"

Ch. 16 distinguishes faith from human opinion and persuasion, and describes it as a free gift of God through the Spirit and the means of grace, as capable of increase, and as the source of good works whose motives are gratitude and a desire to glorify God.

Ch. 17, on the Church, vindicates its New Testament constitution, deprecates the divisions which have never been absent since Apostolic times but have been overruled for good, denies that its true unity resides in rites or ceremonies. "The Church may be called *invisible*, not that the men composing it are invisible, but because they are known only to God, while we are often mistaken in our judgment: those who separate from that true Church cannot live before God." "As there was no salvation out of the ark of Noah, so there is no certain salvation out of Christ, who exhibits Himself to the elect in the Church for their nourishment."

Ch. 18 affirms the sufficiency of the offices in the ministry in use in the Apostolic Church, without condemning later offices and titles. Presbyters and bishops were one. The minister must be duly ordained by presbyters with prayer and the laying on of hands. Ministers are equal in power and commission, and are not sacrificing priests. They ought to be learned as well as pious, but "innocent simplicity may be more useful than haughty learning." Their unworthiness cannot impugn the efficacy of God's word and Sacraments which they are called to dispense.

Ch. 19 defines the Sacraments as "sacred rites instituted by God as signs and seals of His promises for the strengthening of our faith, and as pledges on our part for our consecration to Him." They are two not seven. Of the five Roman additions, confirmation and extreme unction are human inventions and may be abolished without loss, while repentance, ordination, and marriage are valuable Divine institutions not sacramental. The supreme benefit of the sacraments is Christ Himself. They consist of the Word, the sign, and the thing signified. The sign could not pass into the thing signified without ceasing to be a sign. Not the worthiness of the dispenser or of the recipient, but the faithfulness of God is the guarantee of their efficacy. Unbelievers do not receive the reality with the sign, for the reality is not mechanically linked to the sign.

Ch. 21, in particular, states that the body of Christ is in heaven, whither our hearts must be raised, though He is present with all who communicate with Him, a veritable Sun of Righteousness shining upon us. "The Mass—whatever it may have been in ancient times—has been turned from a salutary institution into a vain show and surrounded with various abuses which justify its abolition."

Ch. 24 says that the Lord's Day is "observed in Christian freedom, not with Jewish superstition." One day is not in itself holier than another. "If congregations also commemorate the Lord's nativity, circumcision, crucifixion, resurrection, ascension, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, we greatly approve of it, but feasts in honour of saints we reject." Fasting and self-denial, if prompted by humility, and spontaneous, and not aiming at merit or reward, may be a help to prayer and virtue, and should be used alike by Churches and individuals upon suitable occasions for spiritual profit.

Ch. 27 says: "the more of human rites are accumulated in the Church, the more it is drawn away from Christian liberty and from Christ Himself, while the ignorant seek in ceremonies what they should seek in Christ through faith."

Ch. 29 condemns the slighting or forbidding of marriage, unclean celibacy, and pretended continence.

Ch. 30 declares that the civil magistrate is of God's own appointment, and may be a useful servant or a serious enemy of the Church: He is "to preserve peace and public order, to promote and protect religion and good morals . . . to punish offenders against society, such as thieves, murderers, oppressors, blasphemers, and incorrigible heretics (if they are really heretics)." "Wars are only justifiable in self-defence and after all efforts at peace have been exhausted." "We condemn the Anabaptists who maintain that a Christian should not hold a civil office, that the magistrate has no right to punish any one by death, or to make war or to demand an oath."

CHAPTER XIII.

CONFESSIONS IN THE CALVINISTIC (PRESBYTERIAN) CHURCHES.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

BETWEEN the Calvinist and the Zwinglian Confessions there was an intimate connexion—historical, geographical, and theological. Switzerland was their common birthplace. Unlike Luther, both Zwingli and Calvin were Humanists before they were Reformers, men of learning as well as statesmen, equally at home in the library and in the council chamber; but, like him, they found their peace and their inspiration in Holy Scripture, they had a rational, linguistic, and historical insight into the natural and true meaning of the Bible, and they gave Christ the central and dominating position in their doctrinal thought as well as in their Biblical exegesis. Zwingli gave expression to the reforming instinct of German Switzerland; Calvin, preceded by Farel and Viret, appealed not only to the French Cantons of his adopted land and to the Protestant Christians in France and Belgium, but to their brethren in many other lands. Without any propaganda, Calvin's influence spread instantaneously throughout the countries where German, Dutch, English, Bohemian, and Hungarian were spoken, reaching even Constantinople. More than any other form of Reformed doctrine—far more than Lutheran and Anglican—it proved itself catholic under the test of history, rising above racial differences, everywhere raising the tone of life, and quickening zeal for religious and general culture. It is no mean testimony also to the original attractiveness and power of Calvin's system,

that it not only gave rise to a scholasticism of its own which dominated at least two centuries, but was the parent of an unparalleled series of Confessional statements which bore a strong family resemblance to one another as well as to it. Ideas have altered, and instincts changed, but he would be a poor theologian and a narrow critic who could read for himself these documents without being profoundly impressed by the high order of their Scriptural learning and their logic and by their virile spirit, and without being moved to cherish a deeper respect for the exiled French theologian, the peer of Augustine and Aquinas, whose theological and religious genius was their immediate inspiration.

The Calvinist Confessions retain as doctrinal systems most of the features which broadly distinguished their Zwinglian forerunners from Romanism and from Lutheranism. In a small group of Confessions we have seen the outcome of harmonious co-operation between Zwinglian and Calvinist leaders, and an evidence of their kinship. If the three great leaders—Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin—were constrained, with the urgency of genius, to emphasize their distinctive tenets, it is a remarkable fact that each had a trusted lieutenant capable of appreciating and emphasizing the underlying unities, Melanchthon, Bullinger, and Beza,—men who, had they been permitted, would have brought about a harmony of Protestant faith if not of polity. The specially Calvinistic features are four.

(1) In the forefront the primary and basal position of canonical and non-Apocryphal Scripture as God's Word kept pure and inerrant, conformity to which, and sanction by which, are the only warrants of Christian belief and usage. The Bible is to be its own aid to interpretation, one passage assisting another, and none to be regarded in isolation.

(2) The eternal and absolute decree of God, whereby in His freedom and for His glory He has foreordained some portion of the human race, in spite of their sin, and not of their merit, to eternal salvation, and others, for their sins,

to eternal damnation. This twofold decree, of election, in spite of sin, to forgiveness and blessedness, and of reprobation, for sin, to punishment and loss, drawn sternly from Old and New Testament Scripture and from Augustine, and faced unflinchingly, rests upon a dogmatic basis, including such elements as that God must have foreseen and foreknown the Fall and all its consequences, else His wisdom and omniscience are denied. He must therefore have permitted it under His all-ruling providence, for righteous ends and for merciful purposes, and to His glory. While all are called to repent and to have saving faith, not all respond, not all are *effectually* called, elect in *fact*. Some—God alone knows who or how many, and God *fore*knows—thus justly perish for their sins and for the sins of their fallen progenitors. Salvation is of grace, not for the sake of good works or of faith regarded as a merit. Grace is in the nature of things liable to be deemed arbitrary, since it is not mechanical or forensic, but the eternal decree, which permitted the Fall and its transmitted consequences, is the unswerving embodiment of the immutable principle of grace in God. Human freedom, fettered in some measure now invariably, but originally intact, is alone responsible for sin and death, which even God could not have prevented without doing violence to the freedom of the creature whom He had made in His own image. Grace is open to all. None but the impenitent and acquiescent sinner dares count himself lost. Divine predestination in Christ ought to be the ground of Christian confidence. The believer must make his calling sure, for God never does for man what He has given man power to do for himself.

(3) In the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the elements and their consumption are signs or symbols of spiritual realities, of the spiritual presence of Christ and of His incorporation in the believer's life. Participation and communion seal to men the benefits of Christ's life and death. The presence is real but not local; it is spiritual. It is the presence of the Lord not only in His Divinity but in His humanity. *This is My body* are figurative words.

Faith is, as it were, the organ that partakes and assimilates, through the aid of the Holy Spirit, the spiritual body of the glorified Lord. There is no change in the elements, no transfusion of them with the flesh and blood of the Lord in a physical and local consubstantiation; the unbeliever receives nothing but mere bread and wine. It is a special sacramental presence, transcending the Saviour's wonted presence with His people, only vouchsafed to faith when the memorial rite is duly celebrated. Thus the Zwinglian view, not less than the Romanist and Lutheran, is set aside.

(4) In regard to the Church, Calvinism affirms the parity of presbyters, government by presbyterian courts, the association of lay or ruling elders with duly ordained or teaching elders in that government, the necessity of thoroughgoing discipline as to doctrine and morals, the absolute independence of the spiritual courts in matters spiritual, and the duty of the civil authorities to carry out their spiritual sentences to their appointed civil consequences.

It is characteristic of the Calvinistic Confessions that with singular unanimity they maintain, throughout their long history, these distinctive traits. So uniform are they, and so consistent in their adherence to the fundamental tenets of Calvin, that in most cases a bare historical reference will suffice, indicating their occasions and their inter-relations. It may be remarked, however, of the above four elements of the doctrine, that each was animated by an intensely practical motive, and prompted by an exact acquaintance with the teaching of the Bible *as a whole*, for Calvin had no peer as a student of Holy Writ. Calvinistic scholarship in Scripture, fortified by a practical religious experience not to be judged apart from the stern character of the troubled century in which through blood and groans it was gained, was the warrant for the system, some elements of which, especially the doctrine of Predestination, were only acquiesced in under submission to plain Scripture warrant. A later scholasticism degraded the Scripturalism of Zwingli and Calvin into literalism, and provoked popular nausea in more leisured, fastidious, and critical times. It

was perhaps the one defect of Calvin's own outlook that he could not detach at any point the Old and New Testaments from each other. Having committed himself in his flight from Roman tyranny wholeheartedly to a system, purely Biblical in character, resting on non-Apocryphal Scripture as the unadulterated Word of God revealing all needed truth to man, Calvin could not discriminate between the Old and New, but read each in terms of the other, reaching a form of doctrine which was at least as faithful in form and contents to the Old Testament revelation as to the New. It was not only the Bible, but the whole Bible, that was the seat of doctrinal authority. Only thus can one suggest an explanation for the amazing fact that the first Biblical interpreter of his age should, in full view of the teaching of Christ, leave out of his own doctrinal scheme all mention of the universal Fatherhood of God—an omission which not only came to deepen the apparent gloom of the reverse side of his predestinarian teaching, but in the end has been responsible in every Christian country for the wide-spread modern defection from his views. To him and to his fellows, Scripture was a new world with green pastures threaded by quiet waters, to which a tide of God's spirit had borne them beyond sound of the dictation, and beyond reach of the tyranny, of the Roman Church ; and in the Old Testament history there were innumerable episodes full of suggestive analogy for their unquiet era : there was the spectacle of theocracy embodied in a Church-bound State, and surrounded by pagan adversaries ; of prophecy overpowering priesthood ; of stern Divine retribution ; of the vocation and endowment of elect individuals. Similarly, the doctrine of the comprehensive eternal decree, based on the Old Testament as much as on the Epistle to the Romans and occasional passages in the Gospels, was but a re-statement of the sovereignty of God and the completeness of His prescient providence, and naturally seemed inevitable to the rigorous interpreter of non-Apocryphal Scripture, for whom no purgatory was conceivable, and to whom the Pauline conception of the completeness of human

depravity and guilt, original and transmitted, was an axiom of thought. In an age of stern struggle, when men knew no outer calm but faced each day's emergencies with military decision and resource, the conscience-prompted confidence of election—first realized, perhaps, in the less invidious form of vocation—was a thrilling power for good to resolute souls in touch with God's Word and the living Spirit it exhaled. The stories of Islām and of Israel are sufficient disproof of the benumbing influence which a more peaceful and leisurely and sceptical age is prone to ascribe to the faith which rests on a predestinatory decree. It is to disqualify oneself as a historian or critic of the Calvinistic Confessions, to start with the assumptions that it is presumptuous for any son of man to believe himself an elect instrument for the Kingdom of God ; that faith in the eternal decree must breed either hypocrisy, blasphemy, or utter pessimism ; or (failing to distinguish between predestination and pre-causation) that that faith necessarily makes God the author of evil and obliterates both human responsibility and all secondary causes. Though Beza and a number of lesser Calvinists carried the doctrine to *supralapsarian* extremities, Calvin's own position—Augustine's, only more sharply defined—of *infralapsarianism* (in his own words, " Adam fell, God's providence having so ordained it ; yet he fell by his own guilt ") was without exception adopted by the whole family of Calvinistic Confessions and Catechisms. If it be said that the motley predestination of some to bliss and others to woe leaves God guilty, before human conscience, of favouritism or respect of persons,—an impression which the popular mind can scarcely escape,—the Calvinist could appeal to Scripture (his final witness), and to everyday observation (his living commentary on Scripture), in proof that some *are* so chosen and endowed apart from any antecedent merit in themselves or their ancestors, the store of merit and the condition of the grace, in his judgment, being the work and offering of the blameless Son of God. Grace can never be earned or deserved, yet it need not be unrighteous or arbitrary, and

it can descend only upon fit recipients, whom God alone can judge and know.

What the Theses of Wittenberg and Zürich were to Lutheran and Zwinglian Confessions, the immortal *Institutio Religionis Christianæ* was, and more, to the Calvinistic Confessions—more, for the work, even in its briefest and earliest form of 1536, but especially in the final edition, five times longer, of 1559, contained not only the anticipation but the finished form of their doctrinal system. It was, indeed, not only a manual for students, as the preface modestly declares, and a scholar's summary of Biblical doctrine, but at the same time, as the noble epistle dedicatory to Francis I. avows, a literal confession of evangelical faith, an apology or positive vindication of the new teaching. If it inspired instant alarm in Romanist quarters, or won converts from them, if its pellucid Latinity and its masterly theology won admiration alike from foes and from rivals, it became for Protestants of well-nigh every type a veritable oracle, a source from which confessional, catechetic, and homiletic wants were unfailingly supplied. In diction, in structure, in comprehensiveness, in sheer mass and weight, in unflagging interest and power, in dignity and severe simplicity, it has all the characteristics of a classic. While recognizing that it can never be for us what it was to earlier centuries, we cannot but lament that, in an age which so freely proclaims its emancipation from its spell, so few should read it for themselves, so many should condemn it cheaply and at second hand. Signs are not wanting that at no distant time justice will be more generally done to Calvin as a prince among systematic theologians not less than a prince among Christian exegetes.

In the first edition of the *Institutes*—whose successive chapters deal with (1) the Law, the Ten Commandments ; (2) Faith, the Apostles' Creed ; (3) Prayer, the Lord's Prayer ; (4) the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper ; (5) the five other reputed Sacraments, their true character ; and (6) Christian Liberty, Ecclesiastical Power, and Political Administration—little is said of pre-

destination, though it is not overlooked, but the other traits of Calvinism are prominent. In the final edition that doctrine is fully developed, and the system is complete in four massive books: i. in eighteen chapters, of the Knowledge of God the Creator, including Scripture and Man's original estate; ii. in seventeen chapters, of the Knowledge of God the Redeemer in Christ, as first manifested to the Fathers under the Law, and thereafter to us under the Gospel, including Sin, Freedom, the Law, the Person and Offices of Christ; iii. in twenty-five chapters, of the mode of obtaining (*percipiendæ*) the Grace of Christ, the benefits it confers, and the effects resulting from it; and iv. in twenty chapters, of the external Means or Helps by which God allures us into fellowship with Christ and keeps us in it, including the Church, Ministry, Sacraments, and Civil Government. Without trace of ostentation or any self-obtrusion, the book breathes an air of mature and settled conviction, almost confessional and dogmatic in its grave and well-weighed sentences, whose familiar words so tenaciously arrested the minds and the memories of their disciples as to force their way, directly or indirectly, into the Confessions and Catechisms of all the adhering Churches. We may feel sure that, in the study or in the debating-hall of the Calvinistic formulators, no book lay so near the well-worn Bible as the *Institutes*, and none bore such evident marks of incessant use and affectionate deference.

It will be convenient to review the Confessions belonging to this family according to the countries of their origin—Switzerland, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Hungary, Poland, and the rest of the Continent of Europe; then, in the British Isles—Scotland, England, Wales, and Ireland—and their dependencies; and finally in America.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONFESSIONS IN THE CALVINISTIC (PRESBYTERIAN) CHURCHES OF THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE.

I. IN SWITZERLAND AND FRANCE.

THE CATECHISM AND CONSENSUS OF GENEVA.

THE *Geneva Catechism* was first prepared by Calvin in 1536, on the publication of the *Institutes*, not in catechetic, but in propositional form, and appeared in French. It is a popular abstract of his systematic work in fifty-eight sections, and terminates with a brief *Confession of Faith*, in twenty-one articles, to be signed by all the townsmen, affording, as Schaff puts it, "probably the first instance of a formal pledge to a symbolical book in the history of the Reformed Church."[1] The Confession, whose opening words are "Premièrement, *nous protestons*," treats of the Word of God, the One God, God's Law, Man in his Nature, Man condemned in himself, Salvation, Justification, and Regeneration in Jesus, Remission of Sins always necessary for Believers, our whole Good in the Grace of God, Faith, Invocation of God alone and Christ's intercession, intelligent Prayer, the two Sacraments, human Traditions, Church, Excommunication, Ministers of the Word, Magistrates. The Catechism was recast in French, A.D. 1541, in fifty-five lessons, one for each Sunday in the year, and three for the great festivals; and in Latin, A.D. 1545.[2] In this revised form it consisted of four parts—of Faith, the Apostles' Creed; of the Law, the Ten Com-

[1] *Hist. of Creeds*, p. 468. Text in Müller, p. 111 ff.
[2] Text in Müller, p. 117 ff.

mandments; of Prayer, the Lord's Prayer; of the Word of God and Sacraments, as means of grace. The opening and closing words are alike characteristic. The former are, indeed, memorable: "What is the chief end of human life? — That men should know God, by whom they have been formed. What reason have you for saying that?—Since He hath made us, and placed us in this world, that He may be glorified in us: and in truth it is meet that our life, of which He is Himself the beginning, should be turned to His glory. What is the chief good of man?—The same. Wherefore dost thou hold it the chief good?—Because, apart from it, our lot is more unhappy than that of any of the brutes." The closing words are: "and that the elders should reject from communion those whom they have recognized to be by no means fit to receive the Supper and to be incapable of being admitted without pollution of the Sacrament." The Catechism long enjoyed extreme popularity, and was translated into many languages. In Scotland it was in regular use, being prescribed by the First Book of Discipline for Sabbath catechizing as "the most perfect that ever yet was used in the Kirk." It is clear without being superficial, simple without being childish, lacking in the picturesque, but well arranged, comprehensive, and dignified. If it was excelled, it was only by its own offspring, the Heidelberg Catechism and the Westminster Shorter Catechism. Luther's can scarcely be made a basis of comparison; it is so much less comprehensive in contents.

The *Zürich Confession* (A.D. 1545), the *Zürich Co[n]sensus* (A.D. 1549), and the *Rhætian Confession* (A.D. [1] form a group by themselves,[1] containing a harm[o]Zwinglian and Calvinistic doctrine.

The *Consensus of Geneva* (A.D. 1552), [w]received the signatures of the pastorate, [a]controversial treatise than a Confessio[n] in fact, the second portion of Calvin's [I]

[1] See above, pp. 205-207.

strictures passed by the Romanist theologian Pighius, and the ex-Carmelite physician Bolsec, upon his doctrine of predestination. A somewhat harsh polemic, it is interesting as an exposition of the grounds on which Calvin persisted in maintaining the doctrine in its fullest form, in face of caricature and argument alike, and in spite of the hesitation and defection of friends, as a comfort and stay to the believer.

THE FRENCH CONFESSION.

The *French Confession*, or *Confessio Gallica*, appeared in 1559 (the date of Calvin's final edition of the *Institutes*), and marks the close of his theological activity.[1] In spite of persecution and obloquy, a group of important Protestant congregations had been formed in various parts of France in the years 1555 to 1558. In 1558 doctrinal differences arose at Poitiers, and the visit of one of the Paris pastors to that town seems to have first suggested a conference with a view to a Confession and a Book of Discipline. Calvin was not in favour of the project, but in 1559 the first Synod of the French Reformed Church met in Paris, and both documents took shape. The Confession is in forty articles, based upon a draft prepared by Calvin in 1557 for the congregation in Paris to be presented with a letter to the King of France in vindication of their principles. It was drawn up by Antoine de la Roche Chandieu, a pupil of Calvin, and slightly modified and enlarged by the Synod. It has been re-affirmed again and again as the national standard of the French Church. The revision of 1571 by the Synod a Rochelle gave it the name of the "Confession of La le," by which it is also known. A variant form, five articles before 1571, is supposed by Müller of Calvin's draft, concerning which Morel, the the Synod, wrote to Calvin: "It has been l some things to your Confession, but to

490, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, p. 356 ff., for text French and xxxii ff.; text, p. 221 ff.

change very few." Calvin's desire that the Confession should not be made public and reach the eyes of the civil authorities was deferred to, but its privacy was extremely short-lived. It was prepared for immediate signature by all ministers. In its doctrine and in the arrangement of its short articles it is normally Calvinist.

THE HELVETIC CONSENSUS FORMULA.

The *Helvetic Consensus Formula* (A.D. 1675) was the counterblast of orthodox Swiss Calvinism, especially in German Switzerland, centring in Zürich and Basel, to the innovations of the Saumur theologians, Amyraut, de La Place, and Cappel, Calvinist professors untouched by Arminianism.[1] These taught, at variance from accepted views on "particular" Predestination, the imputation of Adam's sin, and the literal inspiration of the Scriptures, maintaining that the decree of Divine grace was of conditional universality, that the guilt of Adam must be re-incurred by his descendants on their own responsibility to warrant condemnation, that the vowel-system in Biblical Hebrew was the invention of an age long subsequent to the composition and canonization of Scripture, and that in the Hebrew, as in the Greek, Bible the existence of variant readings and textual corruptions and lacunæ disproved the claim of literal or verbal inspiration and infallibility. The Saumur theologians, who thus seemed to abandon the outworks of the strict Calvinist position, acted in an apologetic as well as a scientific interest, in order to strengthen their system by the timely evacuation of fortifications which were sure to be turned or taken by Romanist and other adversaries. They fell back, in part, upon Lutheran and Zwinglian forms of thought. While maintaining the double decree based on God's providence and foreknowledge, they made it universal in intent, faith being the pre-ordained condition of its operation in grace; even the heathen, like young children, might be bene-

[1] Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 477–489; Müller, pp. lxiv, lxv; Lat. text, pp. 861–870.

ficiaries of the merit of Christ just as they are of God's universal providence, through a faith answering, however faintly, to that of Christians within the visible Church. Yet in the result none but the elect are saved. The decree is universal in intent, but man makes it particular in effect.

Amyraldism was, after continued debate, permitted by French Synods, but condemned nearly a generation later by the Swiss Reformed theologians. The Consensus Formula was prepared by John Henry Heidegger, Professor at Zürich, assisted by Lucas Gernler of Basel, and Francis Turretin of Geneva, men of theological distinction and of eminently Christian spirit. Though polemical in purpose, its tone is courteous, and it rejects rather than condemns. It was intended to be an appendix to the accepted Calvinistic standards, not strictly a fresh symbol, and as such it exercised a local authority by order of Church and State in Zürich, Basel, and Geneva, and other Reformed Cantons, for half a century.

Articles 1–3 treat of Biblical Inspiration, 4–6 of Predestination, 7–9 of the Covenant of Works before the Fall, 10–12 of the Immediate Imputation of Adam's Sin to his Posterity, 13–16 of the Limitation of the Atonement to the elect alone in purpose as in effect, 17–22 of particular election, and of the insufficiency for salvation of the Divine revelation in nature and in providence, 23–25 of the *two* covenants,—against Amyraut's *three* of nature, law, and grace,—even Old Testament saints having been saved by faith in the earlier revelation of the Lamb of God and of the Divine Trinity, and 26 forbids teaching any doctrine extraneous or contrary to the Scriptures and such received standards as the Second Helvetic Confession and the Canons of Dort.

MODERN SWISS AND FRENCH CONFESSIONS.

The *Confession of the Free Evangelical Church of the Canton de Vaud* (A.D. 1847), at Lausanne, was the confessional firstfruits of the Revival of Evangelicalism in the Swiss and French Churches in the fifth decade of last century, which led to the disruption of the Established Churches

and the formation, after the Scottish model, of Free denominations.[1] Six articles in the first section of the Constitution, "Of the Free Church in General," define in simple terms the loyal adherence of the Church to Scripture, and to the sixteenth century evangelical doctrinal tradition as embodied, *e.g.*, in the Helvetic Confession; its intention of fraternizing with other evangelical bodies and recognizing their membership; and its claim to spiritual autonomy.

The *Confession of the Free Church of Geneva* (A.D. 1848) embodies the same spirit in more precise doctrinal terms.[2] Its seventeen short articles state the substance of evangelical doctrine on Scripture, God, Christ, the Incarnation and Atonement, Regeneration, Justification, Sanctification, Judgment, the Church Invisible hidden in the Church Visible, the Sacraments as symbols and pledges of salvation, ecclesiastical fellowship. Salvation in all its phases is the gift of Divine Grace; true believers, its recipients, are elect in Christ from before the world's foundation, according to the foreknowledge of God the Father; God, who so loved the world as to give His only Son, ordains in this life that all men in all places should be converted, that each is responsible for his sin and unbelief, that Jesus repulses none who turns to Him, and that every sinner who sincerely invokes His name will be saved.

The *Constitution of the French Free Churches* (A.D. 1849) includes a briefer and even simpler and more Scriptural statement of faith and principles, warmly evangelical in its terms, graceful and gracious in its language.[3] Its clauses declare the faith that rests on Scripture, on God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the universal

[1] French text in Müller, p. 903. Full particulars of the doctrinal standards of the Swiss Free Churches in detail will be found in the Report of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance, Philadelphia, U.S.A., 1880, pp. 1081–1093.

[2] French text in Müller, p. 905.

[3] French text in Müller, p. 907. Full particulars of the doctrinal standards of the French Free Churches in detail will be found in the Report of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance, Philadelphia, U.S.A., 1880, pp. 1068–1081.

call to repentance and salvation, the resurrection and judgment to come; and close with a doxology.

The *Declaration of Faith of the Reformed Church of France* (A.D. 1872) was the work of the first Synod that met since the suspension by Louis XIV. in 1660.[1] Venerable as was the French Confession of La Rochelle, and sacred in its associations, it could not be re-affirmed without modification so late in the nineteenth century. Its authorization of the power of the magistrate to punish heresy by the sword was an article long since unlearned through bitter experience of its practical operation. But, even on the cardinal tenets of French Calvinistic tradition, unanimity and even substantial agreement were soon found to have passed away. The Declaration, liberal and moderate as it is, was adopted only by a small majority and at the price of ultimate schism, the minority being averse to creed subscription. It was proposed by Charles Bois, professor at Montauban; affirms the fidelity of the Church to her original principles of faith and freedom; proclaims "the sovereign authority of the Holy Scriptures in matters of faith, and salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, who died for our sins, and was raised again for our justification"; and maintains, as the basis of the Church's teaching, "the grand Christian facts represented in her religious solemnities, and set forth in her liturgies, especially in the Confession of Sins, the Apostles' Creed, and the order for the administration of the Lord's Supper."

The *Constitution of the Free Church of Neuchâtel* (A.D. 1874) briefly sets forth in three articles of its first chapter its faith in Holy Scripture, and in the great facts contained in the Apostles' Creed, and its devotion to the good of the people at large.[2]

[1] Schaff, *Hist.* p. 498 ff. incl. text; Müller, p. lxix, and text, p. 910.
[2] Müller, p. lxx; text, p. 911.

II. IN GERMANY.

The German Reformed Confessions—a considerable group in themselves—profess a moderate Calvinism, in touch with the Lutheranism of Melanchthon, chary, on the one hand, of referring to the decree of reprobation, but, on the other, faithful to the Genevan sacramental doctrine. Only one of them, the Heidelberg Catechism, attained to an international currency and authority.

EARLY CONFESSIONS OF FRANKFORT AND EMDEN.

The *Confession of the Frankfort Community of Foreigners*[1] (A.D. 1554) was called for by popular hostility to their sacramental ideas, and was intended by them to rebut the charge of Anabaptism. The exiles included a portion of the fugitives from Continental persecution, many of them from Holland, who had taken refuge in London under Edward VI., but were compelled to disperse on Mary's accession. In 1551 they had presented to Edward a statement and vindication of their tenets, in the *Compendium Doctrinæ* by Martin Micron, which in a Dutch version was long cherished in Holland as an authoritative symbol. The Confession of 1554 was embodied in a Book of Church Order, "Liturgia Sacra," and is a revision of the earlier compendium under the influence of John à Lasco, their leader in England, and of Calvin. Its preface undertakes to show what constitutes a true Christian, and what the chief good of man, and bases faith on the Scriptures and their summary in the Apostles' Creed. Part 1 treats of God, His attributes, and work, His Fatherhood to men not simply as creator, nor (as of Christ) their begetter, but as having elected them to adoptive sonship; and of man's creation and fall into sin. Part 2 treats of Jesus Christ, part 3 of the Holy Spirit. Part 4, "of the Church," ends with a repudiation of the Pope and of Romanist errors.

[1] Müller, p. xlix; Latin text, pp. 657–666.

The *Emden Catechism* (A.D. 1554) is closely connected with the Frankfort Confession.[1] A Lasco was its author. It took the place of a larger Catechism for children based on Micron's Compendium, and also of a Lutheranizing substitute which an Emden pastor had prepared on his own authority. It became the recognized text-book and doctrinal norm of East Friesland, in whose dialect it is written.

Its ninety-four questions deal simply and concisely with the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Plan of Salvation, the difference between Law and Gospel, the Apostles' Creed, the Sacraments, the Church, and Prayer. The opening question is, "Wherefore art thou created a human being?—That I should be an image of God, and should know, love, and serve my God." The second asks, "Wherefore art thou become a Christian?" The third, "How art thou sure that thou art a true Christian?"

THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM.

The *Heidelberg Catechism* (A.D. 1563), the most popular, able, and authoritative of the German Reformed Confessions, was prepared on the basis of earlier Catechisms, by two young Calvinist theologians in sympathy with Melanchthon's standpoint — Zacharias Bär or Ursinus, and Caspar Olewig or Olevianus, professors at Heidelberg, who had had distinguished academic careers, had enjoyed friendly intercourse with the chief teachers of Germany and Switzerland, and had undergone privation and persecution for their views.[2] Enjoying the entire confidence of the noble Elector Palatine, Frederick III., the first German prince to profess the Reformed doctrine, and so forfeit the political amnesty guaranteed only to Lutherans

[1] Müller, *Einleit.* p. 1; text, pp. 666–682.

[2] Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 529–554 (on hist., contents, and bibliog.), *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 307–355 (text in Germ. and Eng.); Müller, pp. 1-liii, 682-719 (Germ. text and proofs); art. in Hauck-Herzog, *Realencycl.*, 3rd ed.; J. W. Nevin, *Hist. and Genius of the Heidelb. Catech.*, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., 1847.

by the Peace of Augsburg, they received from him the commission to prepare a manual which should serve alike for teaching the young and for settling the constant differences in doctrine between Lutherans, of both schools, and Calvinists, of which Heidelberg had become the continual scene. No commission was ever better justified. The Catechism, though it had detractors, soon established itself in every Reformed land and language. The Elector (whose interest in such work was later to be shown, in 1577, by a testamentary Confession left in his own writing) watched over its progress, and made frequent suggestions, one of which added to the second and later editions the sole polemic question and answer, No. 80, containing the clause, "And thus the Mass at bottom is nothing else than a denial of the one sacrifice and passion of Jesus Christ, and an accursed idolatry."

The Catechism opens with the question: "What is thine only comfort in life and in death?—That I, with body and soul, both in life and in death, am not my own, but belong to my faithful Saviour Jesus Christ, who with His precious blood has fully satisfied for all my sins, and redeemed me from all the power of the devil; and so preserves me that without the will of my Father in heaven not a hair can fall from my head; yea, and that all things must work together for my salvation. Wherefore by His Holy Spirit He also assures me of eternal life, and makes me heartily willing and ready henceforth to live unto Him." The second question is, "How many things are necessary for thee to know that thou in this comfort mayest live and die happily?—Three things: *First*, the greatness of my sin and misery. *Second*, how I am redeemed from all my sins and misery. *Third*, how I am to be thankful to God for such redemption." Its last question completes the exposition of the Lord's Prayer: "What is the meaning of the word 'Amen'?—Amen means, So shall it truly and surely be. For my prayer is much more certainly heard of God than I feel in my heart that I desire these things of Him."

After the first two prefatory questions, the Catechism falls into three parts:

Part I. "Of Man's misery," questions 3–11, traces the knowledge of sin to God's Law, gives Christ's summary of the Law in

two great commandments, affirms man's creation after God's image "in righteousness and true holiness; that he might rightly know God his Creator, heartily love Him and live with Him in eternal blessedness, to praise and glorify Him," traces sin to Adam's fall, and warns of God's wrath.

Part II. "Of Man's Redemption," questions 12–85, expounds Anselm's view of the atonement in Christ, shows how the plan of grace was foreshadowed in the Old Testament, how it is appropriated by faith which is not "only a certain knowledge whereby I hold for truth all that God has revealed to us in His Word, but also a hearty trust which the Holy Ghost works in me by the Gospel that not only to others, but to me also, forgiveness of sins, everlasting righteousness and salvation are freely given by God, merely of grace, only for the sake of Christ's merits"; it then expounds the faith embodied in the Apostles' Creed in three divisions: of God the Father in Christ and our creation, of God the Son and our redemption, and of God the Holy Ghost and our sanctification—the Trinity revealed by God's Word; especially admirable being the questions on Providence, on the names of Christ and Christian, on the benefits of Christ's Ascension, on the Church and Communion of Saints, on Baptism and the Lord's Supper, though those on the Supper are very long and full; and on the office of the Keys.

Part III. "Of Thankfulness," questions 86–129, sets forth Christian duty as the fruits of grateful penitence and faith, to the glory of God and the help of our neighbours, according to the Ten Commandments, which are expounded, in positive as well as negative terms, with a wealth of shrewd Christian wisdom and practical good sense, as, *e.g.*, where the Fifth is made to teach not only obedience to parents and those in authority, and submission to their good instruction and correction, but that we "bear patiently with their infirmities, since it is God's will to govern us by their hand." Finally, with a view to obedience to God's will, the need of the aids of prayer is urged, and the successive clauses of the Lord's Prayer are expounded.

No praise is too great for the simplicity of language, the accord with Scripture, the natural order, the theological

restraint and devout tone which characterize this Catechism. The excessive length of many of its answers militates against literal memorization, but the excellence of their contents goes far to atone for their length. It is a happy blend of Calvinist precision and comprehensiveness with Lutheran warmth and humanity. It is a miracle of unity and continuity, as wise in its omissions as in its contents. Predestination is not mentioned, save in the guise of election to good. It is Zwinglio-Calvinist on the Sacraments and on the natures of Christ, Luthero-Calvinist in its anti-synergism, Melanchthonian in its key-note of warm personal trust and in its mediative genius. It is as Olewig from the first acknowledged, profoundly indebted to its forerunners. Their contributions and their influence on style, thought, and arrangement are patent. The Catechisms of Luther, Calvin, à Lasco, and Leo Judæ were not only as familiar to the authors as Bär's own earlier products, but were freely used. Yet the workmanship never betrays patchwork, or suggests diversity of hands or heterogeneity of materials. By sheer worth it has won a high place for itself among the classics of religious instruction. It was adopted throughout every part of Reformed Germany, in Holland and its colonies, in Scotland, in Hungary, in Poland, Moravia, Bohemia. With German and Dutch colonists it crossed the seas, and it remains the standard of the Reformed Churches, German and Dutch, in America. It was authorized by the Presbyterian Church in the United States so recently as 1870.

LATER GERMAN CONFESSIONS.

The *Nassau Confession* (A.D. 1578) belongs to the Reformed group more than to the Lutheran, unlike the contemporary Repetition of Anhalt.[1] Its author was the Saxon divine, Christopher Pezel, exiled for his Calvinistic

[1] Schaff, *Hist.* p. 564; Müller, pp. liii–liv; Germ. text, pp. 720–739. See also p. 160 above.

sympathies. It was prepared by the order of Count John, in answer to the Formula of Concord, and sanctioned by the Synod of Dillenburg.

The *Bremen Consensus* (A.D. 1595), preceded in 1572 by a "Declaration," marks the establishment of Calvinism in that city.[1] Its author was Pezel, and its doctrine is only distinguished from that of his earlier work by the sections on Predestination and the Communion of the Sick. It definitely associates as manuals of pastoral instruction the works of the Swiss Reformers with those of Melanchthon. Till 1784, all pastors were required to sign it.

The *Confession of Anhalt* (A.D. 1597) was introduced, on the temporary overthrow of Lutheranism, by the Prince Regent, John George.[2] It contained twenty-eight Calvinistic articles, and upheld a moderate theory of Predestination.

The *Book of Staffort* (A.D. 1599) was composed by the Margrave of Baden-Durlach, one of the many German nobles who busied themselves with theology and asserted themselves as doctrinal dictators.[3] It was imposed upon a none too receptive clergy and people while the Margrave lived.

The *Hessian Confession and Catechism* (A.D. 1607) were moderate Calvinist re-statements of Lutheran standards, prompted by the Landgrave, and sanctioned by the Synod at Cassel.[4] The Confession, while retaining its Lutheran basis, expresses the Reformed views on the Person of Christ and the Sacraments, and consists of five paragraphs on the Ten Commandments, on the abolition of images and pictures, on the Articles of the Faith and the Person of Christ, on Election by Grace, on the Lord's Supper. Along with the Heidelberg Catechism, a modified form of Luther's Small Catechism, still in use, was author-

[1] Schaff, *Hist.* p. 564; Müller, p. liv; Germ. text, pp. 739–799.
[2] See Kurtz, *Ch. Hist.*, § 144.
[3] Müller, pp. liv–lv; Germ. text, pp. 799–816.
[4] Schaff, *Hist.* p. 564; Müller, pp. lv, lvi; Germ. texts, pp. 817–833.

ized. The latter begins: "Art thou a Christian?—Yes, Sir. How dost thou know it?—Because I have been baptized in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and know and believe the Christian teaching. . . . How many chief portions has the Christian teaching?—Five: the Ten Commandments, the ten Articles of the Christian Faith, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, or the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The *Confession of the Heidelberg Theologians* (A.D. 1607) is a manifesto of the Reformed Church doctrine, in its affirmative and negative aspects.[1]

The *Bentheim Confession* (A.D. 1613), which is still authoritative, was drawn up by authority of the ruling Count, a convinced Presbyterian.[2] It has twelve articles, each a sentence long, in the form of questions, *e.g.*—"Quæritur 1. De essentiæ divinæ Unitate: an credas unam et individuam esse divinam essentiam. . . ." The topics are the Unity of the Divine Being, the Trinity of Persons, the Person of Jesus Christ, the Threefold Office of Christ, the Efficacy of His Death, Infant Baptism, Election in Christ, Salvation, the Means of Salvation. It declares the Divine will that all should be saved, but that persistent unbelievers and impenitents should be damned eternally. No Confession in the long series is less controversial and partisan, more simple and charitable.

The *Confession of Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg* (A.D. 1614), is the first of a group of three Confessions recognized in Brandenburg, the central and dominant province of Prussia, whose ruling house became Reformed, though the population mostly remained Lutheran.[3] Though brought up in uncompromising Lutheranism, and

[1] Schaff, *Hist.* p. 565; Heppe, *Die Bekenntnissschriften der reform. Kirchen Deutschlands*, Elberfeld, 1860, p. 250 ff.

[2] Müller, pp. lvi; Lat. text, pp. 833–834.

[3] Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 554–557; Müller, pp. lvi-lviii; Germ. text, pp. 835–843.

indeed pledged to it, Sigismund's social intimacy with Calvinistic Holland and the Palatinate led him to become a close student of Reformed doctrine; and in 1613, five years after his accession, he openly professed his convinced adherence to it. Next year he vindicated the step by publishing his personal Confession of Faith, the fruit of personal study, assisted by Dr. Füssel, Superintendent of Zerbst. In addition to the Word of God, "the only rule of the pious which is perfect, sufficient for salvation, and abides for ever," he recognizes the whole series of Œcumenical Creeds and decisions to A.D. 451, and the Augsburg Confession in both forms. The Confession opens with a reference to Biblical passages in which the duty of princes and kings to religion is set forth, and declares the Elector's sense of obligation to further the teaching of God's pure Word in school and church, and to abolish human ceremonies and superstitions. It rejects the Lutheran doctrine of Christ's bodily ubiquity, the practice of baptismal exorcism, and the use of the consecrated wafer; it sets forth the Calvinist doctrine of the Sacraments and Election, expressly adding that God sincerely desires the salvation of all, and is not responsible for sin; and it declares the Elector's purpose of religious toleration, God alone being judge of each man's faith. Later, however, Sigismund put down extreme Lutheran teaching in church and universities, and removed the Formula of Concord from the authorized standards of his Church.

The *Leipzig Colloquy* (A.D. 1631) was the outcome of a conference arranged by the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, in which, with the Landgrave of Hesse and three representative theologians of each communion, Reformed and Lutheran, they met to consolidate the Protestant forces in doctrinal alliance against the menace of Roman Catholicism.[1] The basis of discussion was the Augsburg Confession. Substantial agreement was easily reached, except on the Lord's Supper and Body of Christ;

[1] Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 558–560.

on predestination little more than verbal difference remained. Unhappily, the times were not ripe for a real understanding. The Colloquy was recognized, however, as having a certain authority in Brandenburg, as explanatory of the Confession of Sigismund.

The *Declaration of Thorn* (A.D. 1645) occupied a somewhat similar position among the Brandenburg Symbols, or *Confessiones Marchicæ*.[1] It was the Statement of Reformed Doctrine submitted to a Conference of Lutheran, Reformed, and Roman Catholic representatives, convened by the King of Poland, Vladislav IV., himself a Roman Catholic, in hope to allay his subjects' religious dissensions. Among the delegates were Amos Comenius, the Moravian bishop; George Calixtus of Helmstadt, the mild Lutheran; and Calovius, the uncompromising Lutheran. Little or nothing came of the meeting, which, as Calixtus laments, proved an "*irritativum*" instead of a "*caritativum*" *colloquium*, as intended. The Reformed Declaration in its first part, "Professio Generalis," affirms Scripture as the sole rule of faith, and the Œcumenical Creeds and decisions as subordinate and explanatory authorities, and accepts the Variata Augsburg Confession and the Consensus of Sendomir (1570) as essentially equivalent statements of Protestant doctrine. In the second part, "Declaratio Specialis," it states the Reformed system in its points of agreement with, and difference from, Lutheranism and Romanism respectively.

The *Articles of the Palatine Union of 1818* are an apparent exception to the general rule that the Union of Lutheran and Reformed Churches throughout Germany in 1817 and thereafter rested upon no new Confessional basis, but upon the formal recognition of the historical standards of both, many of whose doctrinal angularities and differences had been rubbed away by the hand of time.[2] Yet in reality they simply express the universal basis of the union movement—honour to the ancient

[1] Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 560–563.
[2] Müller, pp. lxv–lxvi; Germ. text, 870 f.

standards but not strict obligation, submission to Scripture alone, certainty that the offer of grace is free to all men, recognition of the Lord's Supper as a memorial feast and act of personal communion with Christ as Redeemer.

III. IN BELGIUM AND HOLLAND.

THE BELGIC CONFESSION.

The *Belgic Confession* (A.D. 1561)[1] took the place of Micron's *Compendium Doctrinæ* translated into Dutch in 1551, which along with kindred catechisms of à Lasco and others had been current in the Low Countries as a norm and manual of doctrine.[2] It was composed by Guy de Bray, pastor at Tournay, whose career as a Reformer had begun in exile in England and was to end in 1567 in martyrdom. De Bray submitted his work to a number of scholars and divines for suggestions and revision—among them Adrien de Saravia, a Leyden professor—and addressed it to Philip II. in the faint hope of mitigating his persecuting frenzy against the Reformation. The Confession, written in French originally, follows closely in contents and order the French or Gallic Confession of 1559, avoiding all provocative references, however, to Romanism, expanding the doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, Church and Sacraments, and expressly dissociating itself from Anabaptism. It has thirty-seven articles, which Schaff adjudges "upon the whole, the best symbolical statement of the Calvinistic system of doctrine, with the exception of the Westminster Confession." The main variant recensions were those of the Synod of Antwerp, 1566, in Latin, the reviser being Francis Junius, a pupil of Calvin and later a professor at Leyden; and, in French, Latin, and Dutch, of the Synod of Dort in 1619. The

[1] Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 502–508, *Evang. Prot. Creeds* (Fr. text of Dort, and Eng. of Dutch Ref. Ch. of America), pp. 383–436; Müller, p. xxxiv; Lat. text, pp. 233–249.

[2] Cf. p. 229 above.

Confession, associated with the Heidelberg Catechism and the Canons of Dort, has been the accepted Reformed Symbol of Belgium and Holland, and of the kindred Colonial Churches.

The *Dutch Confession* of 1566 is a comparatively obscure work of uncertain origin, of a milder Calvinism, Zwinglian indeed in character, reflecting in its eighteen articles the apologetic purpose of the Belgic Confession, but sharper in its anti-Romanist polemic.[1]

THE DUTCH REMONSTRANCE.

The *Remonstrance* of 1610 summed up in five articles the Arminian modifications of orthodox Calvinism.[2] James Arminius had died in 1609. His views were maintained by Episcopius (Bisschop), his successor at Leyden, and by the preacher Uytenbogaert, and were supported by such eminent jurist-statesmen as Barneveldt and Grotius. The "Remonstrance" was drawn up by Uytenbogaert for presentation to the Estates of Holland and West Friesland, and was signed by forty-six pastors. It represented an even more serious and determined attempt than Amyraldism—its kindred though independent French counterpart—to break down the rigour of supralapsarian and infralapsarian Calvinism. Though condemned by the weighty, if one-sided, Synod of Dort, and driven by force from Holland or suppressed for a time, it exerted an extremely wide-spread influence, especially throughout the English-speaking world, pervading the Anglican Church and its great Methodist offshoot. It presents the recoil of the human heart from the stern inferences of the head, from the darker aspects of Scripture teaching and of every-day observation of life. Its weapons against scholastic logic and learning are sentiment and humane

[1] Müller, p. xxxv; Dutch text, pp. 935–940.

[2] Schaff, *Hist.* p. 508 ff.; text of positive artt. in Dutch, Lat., and Eng. in *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 545–549; Müller, p. lviii; Hauck-Herzog, *Realencycl.*, art. "Remonstranten"; in Dutch the series of works by Joannes Tideman, 1847–1872.

feeling. It first denies five current propositions, then affirms five others, ending with the claim that the latter are "agreeable to the word of God, tending to edification, and, as regards this argument, sufficient for salvation, so that it is not necessary or edifying to rise higher or to descend deeper."

The *first* article affirms that election is conditional upon, and inseparable from, Divine foreknowledge of faith and perseverance, and reprobation upon foreknowledge of unbelief and sin persisted in.

The *second* affirms that the atonement through Christ's death is universal and sufficient for all, though not necessarily accepted and actually effective in every case, denying any *a priori* limitation of it to elect persons.

The *third* affirms that fallen man cannot accomplish good or attain to saving faith unless regenerated through the Holy Spirit.

The *fourth* denies that grace is irresistible, compelling the elect though withheld from the reprobate.

The *fifth* denies that recipients of irresistible grace, those who through faith are "Christo insiti ac proinde Spiritus eius vivificantis participes," are unable to fall away and necessarily persevere to the end, and affirms that it is impossible to say from Scripture whether the regenerate can ever fall away.

THE CANONS OF DORT.

The *Canons of the Synod of Dort* (A.D. 1619) are the final answer of orthodox Calvinism to the Remonstrants, accepted unanimously by a convention of eighty-four Reformed divines, fifty-eight of whom were Dutch, and eighteen lay assessors.[1] The foreign representatives came at the request of the States-General from almost every "Reformed" country. James I. of England sent Carleton, bishop of Llandaff, Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, Ward, professor at Cambridge, Joseph Hall (afterwards bishop

[1] Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 512–523; full Lat. text in *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 550–580, Eng. text of Dutch Ref. Church of America, positive articles only, *ibid.* pp. 581–597, Eng. text of positive and negative canons in Hall, *Harmony of Prot. Confessions*, 1842, pp. 539–573; Müller, pp. lviii–lxiv; full Lat. text, pp. 843–861.

of Norwich), replaced later by Thomas Goad, and one of his chaplains, Walter Balcanquhal, a Scot by birth, afterwards dean of Durham—with the shrewd advice to "mitigate the heat on both sides," and to urge the Dutch clergy "not to deliver in the pulpit to the people those things for ordinary doctrines which are the highest points of schools and not fit for vulgar capacity, but disputable on both sides." Distinguished French delegates were prevented from attending by the veto of the Crown. In addition to the flower of Dutch learning and piety, then at their highest, representatives, similarly distinguished, from Great Britain, the Palatinate, Hesse, the chief Churches of Switzerland, Nassau, Bremen, Emden, were present to deliberate and append their signatures to the findings of the Synod. One-sided though the assembly necessarily was, the Arminians being everywhere in a minority, no more learned or respectable Synod was ever convened, and no body more representative of the Reformed Protestant world ever met. The result of their discussions was a foregone conclusion; but, apart from special meetings, one hundred and fifty-four regular sittings were held, and the whole subject under debate was examined and analysed and set forth in dogmatic form with unexampled dialectic thoroughness and theological precision, and with an unmistakably reverent tone. Beyond question, the outcome is strictly loyal to the tradition of infralapsarian Calvinism at all points. Alike in logic and in Scripture-learning the new positions failed to win conviction. Consistency seemed to reside with their opponents. The Arminian theses were so largely based on the older doctrine that a more radical departure from the presuppositions of Calvinism would have been needed to substantiate their case. At this distance of time it is not easy to discover in them a very profound relief from the burdens under which they chafed. Where the difference between the two parties is not sentimental, it is apt to appear merely scholastic. Wesley in England was a convinced Arminian, Whitefield a Calvinist as convinced, so that they parted for ever as

workers in the visible Church; but were the spirit and the outcome of their work as preachers not identical, were they not equally rewarded and equally "owned"? Is it possible to believe that a world of thought really parted them or the communions which gathered round them? Would many among their vast audiences have recognized that between them there could yawn the theological abyss which the debates and canons of Dordrecht laboriously located and surveyed? The method rather than the practical outcome of their thought was at variance. Each could find warrant in formal Scriptures of the highest authority.

The Canons are arranged in four chapters corresponding to the Arminian re-statement[1] of the Remonstrance in four chapters, the third containing Articles 3 and 4 of the original Remonstrance. Each chapter affirms a group of theses, rejects a group of errors, and closes with the signatures of the Synod.

Ch. I., *of Divine Predestination*, affirms eighteen propositions. "As all men have sinned in Adam. . . . God would have done no injustice by leaving them all to perish" (Art. 1). "But in this the love of God was manifested, that He sent His only-begotten Son . . . that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have everlasting life" (Art. 2). "And that men may be brought to believe, God mercifully sends the messengers of these most joyful tidings to whom He will and at what time He pleaseth; by whose ministry men are called to repentance and faith in Christ crucified" (Art. 3). "The wrath of God abideth on those who believe not this Gospel; but such as receive it, and embrace Jesus the Saviour by a true and living faith are delivered" (Art. 4). "The cause or guilt of this unbelief, as well as of all other sins, is nowise in God but in man himself: whereas faith in Jesus Christ and salvation through Him is the free gift of God" (Art. 5). "That some receive the gift, and others not, proceeds from God's decree, according to which He graciously softens the hearts of the elect, however obstinate, and inclines them to believe: while He leaves the non-elect in His last judgment to their own wickedness and obduracy. And herein is especially displayed the profound, the merciful, and at the same time the righteous discrimination between men equally involved in ruin" (Art. 6). Election is of mere grace, sovereign good pleasure, is of a

[1] Given in Müller, p. lix ff.

certain number of persons by nature neither better not more deserving than others (cf. Eph. i. 4–6 ; Rom. viii. 30). There are not various decrees of election, but one and the same. It was not founded upon foreseen faith and the obedience of faith or any other good quality or disposition in man as the pre-requisite cause or condition on which it depended, but men are chosen *to* faith and to the obedience of faith. Election is the fountain of every saving good, Eph. i. 4 (Artt. 7–9). " The elect cannot be cast away nor their number diminished. In due time (though in various degrees and in different measures) they attain the assurance of their election, not by inquisitively prying into the secret and deep things of God, but by observing in themselves with a spiritual joy and holy pleasure the infallible fruits of election pointed out in the word of God : such as a true faith in Christ, filial fear, a godly sorrow for sin, a hungering and thirsting after righteousness " (Artt. 11–12). " The sense and certainty of this election afford additional matter . . . for daily humiliation before God . . . and rendering grateful returns of ardent love. The consideration of this doctrine is so far from encouraging remissness . . . or carnal security, that these in the just judgment of God are the usual effects of rash presumption, or of idle and wanton trifling with the grace of election, in those who refuse to walk in the ways of the elect " (Art. 13). This doctrine is to be " published in the Church of God for which it was peculiarly designed, provided it be done with reverence, in the spirit of discretion and piety, for the glory of God's most holy name, and for enlivening and comforting His people, without vainly attempting to investigate the secret way of the Most High " (Art. 14). " What peculiarly tends to illustrate and recommend the grace of election to us is the express testimony of Holy Scripture, that not all but some only are elected, while others are passed by in the eternal decree " (Art. 15). " Those who do not yet experience a lively faith in Christ, an assured confidence of soul, peace of conscience, an earnest endeavour after filial obedience, and glorying in God through Christ, efficaciously wrought in them, and do nevertheless persist in the use of the means which God hath appointed for working these graces in us, ought not to be alarmed at the mention of reprobation, nor rank themselves among the reprobate, but diligently persevere in the use of means, and with ardent desires devoutly and humbly wait for a season of richer grace. . . . But this doctrine is justly terrible to those who, regardless of God and of the Saviour Jesus Christ, have wholly

given themselves up to the cares of the world . . . so long as they are not seriously converted to God" (Art. 16). "Since the Word of God testifies that the children of believers are holy, not by nature, but in virtue of the covenant of grace . . . godly parents have no reason to doubt of the election and salvation of their children whom it pleaseth God to call out of this life in their infancy" (Art. 17). "To those who murmur at the free grace of election, and just severity of reprobation, we answer with the Apostle . . . *who art thou that repliest against God?* and quote the language of our Saviour, *Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?* And therefore, with holy adoration of these mysteries, we exclaim in the words of the Apostle, *O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? . . . or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him and through him and to him are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.*" (Art. 18.)

Ch. II., *of the Death of Christ and the Redemption of Man thereby*, affirms nine propositions, setting forth an atonement limited to the elect. "The death of the Son of God is the only and most perfect sacrifice and satisfaction for sin; is of infinite worth and value, abundantly sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world" (Art. 3). It is so for these reasons: "because He was not only really man and perfectly holy, but also the only-begotten Son of God . . . and because His death was attended with a sense of the wrath and curse of God due to us for sin" (Art. 4). "Moreover, the promise of the Gospel is that whosoever believeth in Christ crucified shall not perish but have everlasting life. This promise, together with the command to repent and believe, ought to be declared and published to all nations, and to all persons promiscuously and without distinction, to whom God out of His good pleasure sends the Gospel" (Art. 5). "And, whereas many who are called by the Gospel do not repent nor believe in Christ but perish in unbelief, this is not owing to any defect or insufficiency in the sacrifice offered by Christ upon the cross, but is wholly to be imputed to themselves" (Art. 6). "But as many as truly believe and are delivered and saved from sin and destruction through the death of Christ, are indebted for this benefit solely to the grace of God given them in Christ from everlasting, and not to any merit of their own. For this was the sovereign counsel and most gracious will and purpose of God the

Father, that the quickening and saving efficacy of the most precious death of His Son should extend to all the elect, for the bestowal upon them of the gift of justifying faith thereby to bring them infallibly to salvation . . . that Christ should effectually redeem out of every people, tribe, nation and language, all those, and those only, who were from eternity chosen . . . and given to Him by the Father " :— a " purpose proceeding from everlasting love towards the elect " (Artt. 7–9).

Ch. III., *of the Corruption of Man, his Conversion to God, and the Manner thereof*, affirms seventeen propositions. " Man was originally formed after the image of God. His understanding was adorned with a true and saving knowledge of his Creator and of spiritual things ; his heart and will were upright, all his affections pure, the whole man holy. Tempted by the Devil, he fell ; and begat children, corrupt not by imitation merely, but by the propagation of a vicious nature in consequence of a just judgment of God " (Artt. 1 and 2). " All men are thus children of wrath, incapable of any saving good ; without regenerating grace neither able nor willing to return to God, to reform the depravity of their nature, nor to dispose themselves to reformation. . . . There remain, however, the glimmerings of natural light, whereby man retains some knowledge of God, of natural things and of the difference between good and evil. But so far is this light of nature from being sufficient to bring him to a saving knowledge of God . . . that he is incapable of using it aright even in things natural and civil " (Artt. 3–4). The law similarly failed, accusing, not sufficing to save. The Holy Spirit through the word or ministry of reconciliation, alone can suffice (Artt. 5–6). Israel was not chosen for its own merit or use of nature's light, but of God's free choice. " All who are called by the Gospel are unfeignedly called. Eternal life and rest are seriously promised to all who shall come to Him and believe on Him " (Artt. 7–8). " The fault lies in men themselves, who refuse to come and be converted. But that others obey and are converted is not to be ascribed to the proper exercise of free will whereby one distinguishes himself above others equally furnished with grace sufficient for faith, but it must be wholly ascribed to God who calls effectually in time the elect from eternity, confers upon them faith and repentance . . . that they may glory not in themselves but in the Lord " (Artt. 9–10). In conversion, God uses His appointed means, and sends His Spirit to soften and regenerate the heart,

working a new creation, a resurrection from the dead—a supernatural work, most delightful, astonishing, mysterious, ineffable (Artt. 11–12). "The manner of this operation cannot be fully comprehended by believers in this life. Notwithstanding, they rest satisfied with knowing and experiencing that by this grace of God they are enabled to believe with the heart and to love their Saviour. Faith is therefore to be considered as the gift of God not as offered to man, to be accepted or rejected at his pleasure, but because it is in reality conferred, breathed and infused into him, and because he who works in man both to will and to do, produces both the will to believe and the act of believing also (Artt. 13–14). "Recipients of this grace owe eternal gratitude to God. Whoever is not made partaker thereof is either altogether regardless of these spiritual gifts and satisfied with his own condition, or is in no apprehension of danger, and vainly boasts the possession of that which he has not. As for those who make an external profession of faith and live regular lives, we are bound after the example of the Apostle to judge and speak of them in the most favourable manner; for the secret recesses of the heart are unknown to us. And as to others who have not yet been called, it is our duty to pray for them to God. But we are in no wise to conduct ourselves towards them with haughtiness, as if we had made ourselves to differ" (Art. 15). "This grace of regeneration does not treat men as senseless stocks and blocks, nor take away their will and its properties, neither does violence thereto; but spiritually quickens, heals, corrects, and at the same time sweetly and powerfully bends it to a true obedience in which true freedom resides. . . . It also in no wise excludes or subverts the use of the gospel which God has ordained to be the seed of regeneration and food of the soul" (Artt. 16 and 17).

Ch. IV., *of the Perseverance of the Saints*, affirms fifteen propositions. The elect are delivered "from the dominion of sin in this life, though not altogether from the body of sin and from the infirmities of the flesh, so long as they continue in this world. Hence spring daily sins of infirmity, and hence spots adhere to the best works of the saints. But God is faithful, who, having conferred grace, mercifully confirms and powerfully preserves them therein, even to the end" (Artt. 1–3). "Converts are not always so influenced and actuated by the Spirit of God as not in some particular instances sinfully to deviate. They must be constant in watching and prayer. By such sins they very deeply offend God, incur a

deadly guilt, grieve the Holy Spirit, . . . wound their consciences, and sometimes lose the sense of God's favour, for a time, until, on their return into the right way by serious repentance, the light of God's fatherly countenance again shines upon them. . . . God does not permit them to be totally deserted and to plunge themselves into everlasting destruction" (Artt. 4–8). "Of this preservation and perseverance, assurance may be obtained according to the varying proportion of faith, not by any revelation apart from or contrary to God's Word, but from faith in God's promises, from the testimony of the Holy Spirit witnessing with our spirit that we are children and heirs of God, and from a serious and holy desire to preserve a good conscience and to perform good works. If the elect were deprived of this solid comfort, that they shall finally obtain the victory, and of this infallible pledge or earnest of eternal glory, they would be of all men the most miserable. This certainty of perseverance produces no spirit of pride or carnal security, but grateful humility and circumspection, lest God's fatherly countenance should be averted, and more grievous torment of conscience be incurred" (Artt. 9–13). "The carnal mind is unable to comprehend this doctrine and the certainty thereof which God hath most abundantly revealed in His Word. . . . Satan abhors it; the world ridicules it; the ignorant and hypocritical abuse it; and heretics oppose it. But the Spouse of Christ hath always most tenderly loved and constantly defended it, as an inestimable treasure; and God, against whom neither counsel nor strength can prevail, will dispose her to continue this conduct to the end" (Art. 15).

The Canons conclude with a solemn protest, declaration, and admonition. The protest discloses the urgency of their work in view of current representations "that the doctrine of the Reformed Churches concerning predestination . . . by its own genius and necessary tendency, leads off the minds of men from all piety and religion; that it is an opiate administered by the flesh and the devil; and the stronghold of Satan, where he lies in wait for all, and from which he wounds multitudes, and mortally strikes through many with the darts both of despair and of security; that it makes God the author of sin, unjust, tyrannical, hypocritical; that it is nothing more than an interpolated Stoicism, Manichæism, Libertinism, Mohammedanism; that it renders men carnally secure, since they are persuaded by it that nothing can hinder the salvation of the elect, let them live as they please; . . . and that

if the reprobate should even perform truly all the works of the saints, their obedience would not in the least contribute to their salvation; that the same doctrine teaches that God by a mere arbitrary act of His will, without the least respect or view to any sin, has predestinated the greatest part of the world to eternal damnation, and has created them for this very purpose; that in the same manner in which election is the fountain and cause of faith and good works, reprobation is the cause of unbelief and impiety; that many children of the faithful are torn, guiltless, from their mothers' breasts and tyrannically plunged into hell: so that neither baptism, nor the prayers of the Church at their baptism, can at all profit them." These and "many other things of the same kind the Reformed Churches not only do not acknowledge, but even detest with their whole soul." Christians, therefore, are solemnly urged to judge of the Reformed faith from the authorized Confessions, and not from particular utterances of a few ancient and modern teachers, often wrested from their true sense and context, and to beware of the judgment which awaits false witnesses and calumniators. Preachers of this doctrine are to handle it with modesty, reverence, and caution, for comfort and assurance, not for despair, or pride, or controversy.

The Canons of Dort represent the last effort of rigid Calvinistic orthodoxy to meet the difficulties and objections besetting their system, both from a popular and from a theological point of view. Later formulation simply rests upon their conclusions. Beyond question, they are a completely consistent expansion of Calvin's theory. Subsequent history has not shown that they succeeded in their ulterior object of silencing objections or reassuring doubters. But their tone is as admirable as their eloquence is noble and sustained. Their ethical sensitiveness and zeal for the Divine glory, even at the cost of man's dignity, are manifest. Their courage in facing the problems of election and sin in the light of Scriptural revelation—problems which practically all non-Calvinistic systems discreetly elude or ignore—is worthy of the high spirit and noble ardour of the Dutch nation then emerging from their long struggle for independence. Their only polemic is against detractors; their attitude

towards Arminianism is marred by no offence against charity or good taste. To read their stately sentences is to be disabused of prejudice and suspicion, and to understand the chorus of relief and praise that greeted their publication. The contradictions which they contain, and make no effort to reduce, are the irreducible antinomies of every honest system—analogous to those of miracle and law, and related intimately to the moral problems of heredity and environment, of freedom and limitation, of Divine foreknowledge of the actions of free agents. It is a great mistake to describe them as speculative, inquisitive, or presumptuous. They spring from a self-effacing desire to systematize and harmonize the teaching of Scripture, to promote assurance of ultimate salvation in Christians without self-trust yet without slavish impotence, to combine the energy of striving against sin with trust and rest in God, to justify forgiveness by its results, not by the deserts of its recipients. To the question,—Why has not God conferred saving grace *effectually* upon all, since all alike are sinners and undeserving? —they either have no answer, or confess they cannot understand, implicitly appealing to godlessness and persistent impenitence as an observed fact in life, or lay the blame upon men who are already from their birth hopelessly under blame. They both assert and deny man's individual freedom since Adam. They leave inevitably an impression of arbitrariness in God upon the human mind. He might have elected and saved all, but for reasons of His own, good, no doubt, though inscrutable and seeming harsh, reasons not connected with the particular sins of individuals, He has not done so. His action appears unethical according to our standards of Christian judgment. To be able to save and not to do so, to be free to elect all sinners and not to do so, when all alike have come short, whether it be true to life's experience or not, is a painful character to attribute to the God and Father of Jesus Christ. Technical or formal safeguards or reservations, counter-assertions like afterthoughts at

the close of the canons, will not avail to dispel from the popular mind, however serious, the impression of Divine cruelty. This is enough in itself to discredit any religious manifesto, however guarded or studied in its phraseology. Where the divines of Dordrecht failed, others may well pause.

Along with the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism which the Synod of Dort reaffirmed, the Canons of Dort have remained the formal standard of the group of Dutch Reformed Churches in Holland and in the lands of its emigrant children. In the National Church of Holland, however, as distinct from the conservative secessions, they are no longer held as strictly binding. Their influence upon subsequent Calvinistic Confessions is obvious even to the superficial reader.

IV. IN HUNGARY.

In Hungary the Reformation movement, originated from Wittenberg, was promoted by a numerous group of native workers, at their head Matthias Dévay, and was consolidated by the acceptance in 1545 of the Augsburg Confession.[1] But with remarkable rapidity the Saxon gave place to the Swiss influence. Dévay and his successors passed over, in spite of personal ties to Wittenberg, to Zwinglian and Calvinistic views, the phrase "corde non ore" in relation to the communion of the Lord's body becoming a watchword in the Magyar Church. The native Confessions belong to the years 1559–70 and to the lifetime and ascendancy of Peter Melius, the "Hungarian Calvin," teacher and pastor in Debreczen. They have all given place, however, since 1626 or 1646, to the Heidelberg Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession.

The *Confession of Kolosvar* (*Claudiopolis*), A.D. 1559,

[1] On the little-known Hungarian Confessions, see Report of Second General Council of Presbyterian Alliance, Philadelphia, 1880, for a full account, though marred by misprints and unfamiliarity with English on the part of the Hungarian contributor, Francis Balogh, Prof. of Church Hist. at Debreczen, pp. 1099–1120; also Müller, *op. cit.* pp. xxxvi–xxxix; Latin texts are given on pp. 265–453; Schaff, *Hist.* p. 591 f.

is a brief "Sententia" on the Lord's Supper drawn up by Melius (Juhasz), Davidis, and seven colleagues met in synod; it was followed in the same year by a *Defensio* or vindication by Davidis, both maintaining the Calvinist and rejecting the Lutheran doctrine. The *Confession of Vasarhely*, A.D. 1559, in Hungarian, reproduces its teaching.

The *Confession of Debreczen* (A.D. 1560–2) is the first general Calvinist Confession of the Church dealing with election and other topics, doctrinal and ecclesiastical. It is based on the Fathers and on the Genevan teachers, was prepared by Melius, and was ratified by Synod. It is also known as *Confessio Agrivallensis*, or *Confessio Hungarorum* or *Confessio Catholica*. Melius at the same time introduced into school and general use a *Catechism*, modelled upon and inspired throughout by Calvin's Catechism.

The *Confession of Tarczal and Torda*, adopted by the successive synods of those places in 1562 and 1563, is a shortened form of Beza's Compendium of Reformed Doctrine, the *Confessio Christianæ Fidei* of 1560. It incorporates the Œcumenical Creeds, and treats in six parts of the Holy Trinity, of God the Father, of Jesus Christ, of the Holy Spirit, of the Church, of final Judgment.

The *Confession of Czenger* (A.D. 1570), or *Confessio Hungarica*, is the last and most important of a series of Synodic Declarations against the Unitarian movement in Hungary, earlier examples being the *Brief Confession of Pastors at Debreczen* (A.D. 1567), the *Confession of Kassa* (A.D. 1568), and the *Confession of Várad* (A.D. 1569). The Confession of the Synod of Czenger, at which Melius was the guiding mind, but from which the pastors who sympathized with Socinus and Servetus absented themselves, contains eleven chapters dealing with the One and Only God, —the only-begotten Son of God from eternity,—the Holy Spirit, as true and only God and Lord, having life in Himself,—the Words and Expressions employed by the Holy Spirit concerning God through the Prophets and Apostles,—the Rules for the interpretation of expressions concerning God,—the Law and the Gospel in the Church,—the Rites

and Sacraments of the Church, Infant Baptism and the Lord's Supper,—Christian liberty in food, drink, clothing, and ecclesiastical places of meeting—Divine freedom from respect of persons in saving some and hardening others,—the Cause of Sin, and the Mediator the Son of God,—the removal of obnoxious heretics and antichrists. The Confession is less pleasing in tone than its predecessors, being marred and burdened by polemic and controversy.

V. IN BOHEMIA.

In Bohemia, apart from the native Utraquism, whose standards have been discussed (p. 134), there was also, as in Hungary, a division of Protestant sympathies between Lutheranism and Calvinism. Reference has already [1] been made to Calvinistic influence in the unionist Confession of 1575. But the outstanding Calvinist Bohemian Confession is the little known *Confession of 1609*,[2] containing twenty chapters, almost catechetic in form, which had been presented to King Ferdinand, to the Emperor Maximilian II., and to King Sigismund Augustus II. of Poland—a revision and expansion of older documents of 1535 and 1564, retaining not a little of the native pre-Reformation type of teaching. The Reformed Church of Bohemia and Moravia recognizes the Heidelberg Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession.

VI. IN POLAND.

In Poland, apart from the *Declaration of Thorn*, already mentioned [3] as a Confession recognized in Brandenburg, there needs only to be made a reference to the *Consensus of Sendomir* (A.D. 1570).[4] The death of John à Lasco and of Prince Radziwill, the leaders of the Polish Reformation, and the pressure of Roman propaganda, led to the meeting

[1] Pp. 134, 135.

[2] Müller, pp. xxxix–xl; text in Latin, pp. 453–500. [3] See p. 237.

[4] Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 581–588; art. "Sendomir," in Hauck-Herzog, *Real-encycl.*, 3rd ed.; Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*, Leipzig, 1840, p. 551 ff. (Lat. text); Beck, *Die symbolischen Bücher*, 2nd ed., 1845, vol. ii. p. 87 ff. (Germ. text).

and Confederation of Lutherans, Calvinists, and Bohemian Brethren at Sendomir in 1570, and to the issue of a joint-Confession setting forth their agreement on the fundamental Articles of Protestant faith embodied in their standards, and their compromise on the Lord's Supper, in Melanchthonian or Calvinist terms, affirming the substantial presence of Christ (not of His body and blood), denying that the elements are mere symbols, avoiding technical Lutheran language, and omitting all reference to the doctrine of Predestination. The Confession contains a lengthy passage on the Sacraments from Melanchthon's "Repetition" of the Augsburg Confession, drawn up in 1551 for the Council of Trent, and in Melanchthon's spirit it acknowledges the Christian soundness of all three parties, and enjoins the cultivation of good relations between them. In 1570, at Posen, a series of twenty short supplementary articles were adopted in confirmation of the Consensus. The Consensus was repeatedly ratified by Polish Synods.

VII. IN CONSTANTINOPLE

In Constantinople Calvinism found an exponent in so exalted a personage as the Patriarch, Cyril Lucar, who was a lifelong correspondent with the Genevan Reformers.[1] His *Confession of Faith* (A.D. 1631) went further than that of his successor at Alexandria, Metrophanes (A.D. 1625), who, while not openly espousing Protestant views, refrained from polemic against them, though opposing Roman Catholic tenets. It was supplemented by various *Catechisms*. The earliest form, of 1629, was in Latin. The edition of 1631 contained four added questions and answers, and was in Greek. The edition of 1633, at Geneva, was in both languages. Of the eighteen chapters, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 16 are Catholic and uncontroversial—on the doctrines of the Trinity, Creation and Providence, the Fall, the Incarnation and Glory of Christ, Faith, and Baptismal Regeneration, the Procession of the Spirit being expressed in terms

[1] Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 54–57; art. "Lukaris," in Hauck-Herzog, *Realencycl.* 3rd ed. See above, p. 92.

of the phrasing of the mediating Council of Florence, "proceeding from the Father *through* the Son." In the other ten chapters, the teaching is unmistakably Reformed and Calvinist. The authority of Scripture is supreme as the infallible Word of God, and the Apocrypha are excluded from canonical authority (ch. 2 and appendix). The Church may err and sin, needs the grace of the Holy Spirit and His teaching rather than that of any mortal man (ch. 12). On Predestination, Cyril agrees with Dort against the Arminians (ch. 3). He sets forth Justification in ch. 13 in these terms: "We believe that man is justified by faith, not by works. But when we say "by faith," we understand its correlative the righteousness of Christ, which faith, performing the office of the hand, apprehends and applies to us for salvation. And this . . . in no wise to the prejudice of works . . . they are by no means to be neglected, they are necessary means and evidences of our faith and a confirmation of our calling. . . . They are of themselves by no means sufficient to save man. The righteousness of Christ, applied to the penitent, alone justifies and saves the believer." There are but two Sacraments instituted by Christ; both require faith for their efficacy (ch. 15). Transubstantiation and oral manducation are alike erroneous doctrines, and are to be replaced by Calvin's teaching on the real but spiritual presence and reception of the body and blood of Christ (ch. 17). Purgatory and post-mortem repentance are denied (ch. 18). The Confession, of course, never became authoritative, but it is a significant evidence of the influence of the Genevan School.

VIII. IN ITALY.

In Piedmont there was drawn up, as mentioned above, the Calvinistic *Waldensian Confession of 1655*, in thirty-three propositions with an appendix repudiating fourteen Romanist accusations—based upon the French Confession of Calvin.[1]

[1] French text in Müller, pp. 500–505; French and English in Schaff, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 757–770. See above, p. 224.

The *Confession of the Evangelical Church of Italy* (A.D. 1870) is a very short statement in eight Articles, adopted at Milan by a group of Free Churches met in Assembly, "simply as the outward bond of unity in the faith and the banner of the Church." [1] The articles refer to (1) Scripture; (2) Man's original state, the Fall, and its result; (3) God's desire to save; (4) Salvation, its source, means, vehicle, and results; (5) the life of the Redeemed, and the source of its strength; (6) the Church; (7) Ministries in the Church; (8) the Second Advent of Christ, and Judgment.

IX. IN SPAIN.

In Spain three Calvinistic Confessions have been recognized.[2]

The *Confession of 1559* of Spanish refugees from the Inquisition, in London, is believed to have been very moderately Calvinistic in type, and contained twenty-one articles.

The *Confession of Seville* (A.D. 1869), on the basis of an earlier draft prepared at Gibraltar, was accepted by the Churches of Seville, Cordova, Granada, Malaga, Cadiz, and Huelva. It contains twenty-five chapters with proof-texts. It is largely a reproduction of the Westminster Confession, in parts a translation of it.

The *Confession of Madrid* (A.D. 1872), was prepared and authorized by the Assembly of the Reformed Church of Spain, the "Spanish Christian Church." It contains twenty-five chapters, and is similar in character to that of 1869, the occasion for its preparation being the union of the Andalusian Churches forming the Spanish Reformed Church, which had recognised the earlier standard of doctrine, with a number of other congregations, some of which had been fostered by missions from Protestant countries.

[1] Schaff, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 787–788.

[2] Report of Second General Council of Presbyterian Alliance, Philadelphia, 1880, pp. 1121–1123.

CHAPTER XV.

CONFESSIONS IN THE CALVINISTIC (PRESBYTERIAN) CHURCHES OF BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

IN Episcopalian England, as we have seen,[1] Calvinism early made its presence felt, at first by reason of political exigencies under the cloak of Melanchthonian Lutheranism, later with unmistakable clearness in the accepted Articles (A.D. 1549–1563), though never in its extremer forms, and finally in the *Lambeth* and the *Irish* Articles, A.D. 1595 and 1615, with sharp decision and without compromise. In Presbyterian Scotland, Genevan teaching was dominant from the first, alike in Confessions and in Catechisms.

THE CONFESSION OF THE ENGLISH CONGREGATION AT GENEVA.

Apart from the articles of belief or "places" of the early Protestant teachers and martyrs, and the vernacular Catechism expounding the Apostles' Creed prepared by Archbishop Hamilton for priests and people on the eve of the Reformation in 1552, and the contemporary versified Creed of the "Gude and Godlie Ballates," the first Confessional utterance of Scottish faith is the *Confession of the English Congregation at Geneva*[2] (A.D. 1556), which, along with forms of prayer, had been framed on the teaching of Calvin's 1536 Catechism and Forms of Prayer, for the congregation at Frankfort in 1555 by Knox and four others

[1] P. 166 ff. above.

[2] Text in Dunlop's *Collection of Confessions of Faith, Catechisms, etc., of Public Authority in the Church of Scotland*, 1719, 1722, vol. ii. pp. 1–12; also with introduction, in Laing's *Works of John Knox*, 1846–64, vol. iv. pp. 143–173.

commissioned to do the work—Whittingham, Gilby, Foxe, and Cole. When part of the Frankfort congregation migrated to Geneva, they took with them this "Forme of Prayers, etc." The brief Confession is the first among its contents. It is a running paraphrase and expansion of the Apostles' Creed, whose clauses were printed as insets on the margin of the successive paragraphs. On Scripture, on the twofold Decree, and on the Sacraments, it is completely loyal to Calvin, with whose approval, indeed, it was issued. On Knox's return to Scotland the "Forme of Prayers" was speedily "approved and received by the Church," and issued, practically without change, for common use.

THE SCOTS CONFESSION.

The *Scots Confession* of 1560 marks the consummation of the Reformation in Scotland.[1] It was drawn up in four days, by instruction of the Estates of Parliament, by Knox with the assistance of five others—Winram, Spottiswoode, Hillock, Douglas, and Rowe—and, after private revision by Lethington and Lord James Stewart, who tempered its language and secured the omission of an article on the "dysobediens that subjects owe unto their magistrates," it was approved by Parliament as "hailsome and sound doctrine." It is substantially the work of Knox himself, who had not only prepared the Geneva Confession with full knowledge of its Swiss counterparts, but had been consulted regarding the English Articles of Edward VI.

The preface is a striking introduction, vivid, picturesque, and vigorous, and has often been the subject of well-deserved encomium. Like the first Confession of Basel (A.D. 1534), it invites correction on the basis of Scripture evidence, and disclaims inerrancy, "protest-and that gif onie man will note in this our Confessioun onie Artickle

[1] Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 680–685, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, text in Scots and Lat., pp. 437–479; Dunlop, *Collection*, pp. 13–98; Müller, Lat. text, pp. 249–263; C. G. M'Crie, *Confessions of the Church of Scotland*, 1907, pp. 14–21; Edward Irving, *Confessions, etc., of the Church of Scotland*, 1831; Mitchell, *Scottish Reformation*, 1900, p. 99 ff.; Lindsay, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. ii. p. 300 ff., and the Standard Scottish Church Histories.

repugnand to Gods halie word, that it wald please him of his gentleness and for christian charities sake to admonish us of the same in writing; and we, upon our honoures and fidelitie, be Gods grace do promise unto him satisfaction fra the mouth of God, that is fra his haly scriptures, or else reformation of that quhilk he sal prove to be amisse." Opening with the words "Lang have we thirsted, dear Brethren, to have notified to the warld the Sum of that Doctrine quhilk we professe and for quhilk we have sustained Infamie and Danger," it ends—"be the assistance of the michtie Spirit of the same our Lord Jesus Christ, we firmely purpose to abide to the end in the Confessioun of this our faith, as be Artickles followis."

Its twenty-five Articles treat of "God, the Creation of Man, Original Sin, the Revelation of the Promise, the Continuance . . . of the Kirk, the Incarnation, why it behooved the Mediator to be very God and very Man, Election, Christ's Death, Passion and Burial, the Resurrection, the Ascension, Faith in the Holy Goste, the Cause of Gude Warkis, what Warkis are reputit Gude befoir God, the Perfectioun of the Law and the Imperfectioun of Man, the Kirk, the Immortalitie of the Saules, the Notis be the quhilk the Trewe Kirk is decernit fra the false, and quha sall be Judge of the Doctrine, the Authoritie of the Scriptures, Generall Councillis, the Sacramentis, their Richt Administratioun, to whom they appertaine, the Civile Magistrate, the Guiftes freely given to the Kirk." In common with the other standards of the Reformation, it deprecates heresy from the Catholic Creeds.

The articles on Election (VII. and VIII.) are characteristic: the conjunction of Godhead and manhood in Christ proceeded from the eternal decree; for the same eternal God and Father who of mere grace elected us in Christ Jesus His Son before the foundation of the world appointed Him to be our Head, our Brother, our Pastor . . . giving power to believers to be the sons of God . . . by which holy fraternity "quhatsoever wee have tynt in Adam is restored unto us agayne." Nothing is said of a decree of reprobation, save that "the reprobate" are mentioned as a class distinct from the elect (cf. the English Articles).

Those who lack the Spirit of sanctification and live in sin, cannot have Christ living in their hearts till they repent and are changed (XIII.). Good works are the fruit of faith, and faith the gift of the Spirit (XII. and XIII.).

The true Church is invisible, known only to God who knows His

elect ; it includes the children of true believers, saints in glory and saints who yet live and fight against sin ; out of that true Church, as without Christ, there is no salvation, howsoever men may live according to equity and justice (XVI.). The notes of the true Church are three—the true preaching of the Word of God, the right administration of the Sacraments, discipline uprightly administered ; the interpretation of Scripture belongs to no private or public person, to no Church by reason of any earthly pre-eminence, but to the Spirit of God by whom it was written ; when in doubt we are to look to the utterance of the Spirit within the body of Scripture, to Christ's own example and commandment ; by Scripture all teachers and Councils are to be judged (Artt. XVIII.–XX.).

Councils are fallible at the best : " Nor do we think that any policie and an ordour in ceremonies can be appointed for al ages, times, and places. For, as ceremonies sik as men have devised are bot temporall ; so may and aucht they to be changed when they rather foster superstition then that they edifie the Kirk using the same " (Art. XX.).

The Two Sacraments of the New Testament correspond to Circumcision and Passover in the Old ; they are not only to distinguish visibly God's people from others, but to exercise their faith, and seal in their hearts the assurance of His promise and of their union with Christ : they are not " naked and baire signes " : by them we are truly engrafted in and fed by Christ ; the signs are neither to be worshipped nor handled lightly, but reverenced ; the very body and blood of Christ are by virtue of His Godhead communicated to us, distant though He is in heaven, not by any transubstantiation, but through faith by the power of the Holy Spirit, so that we become flesh of His flesh, bone of His bones, and receive life and " immortalitie, . . . quhilk, albeit we confesse are nether given unto us at that time onelie, nether zit be the proper power and vertue of the Sacrament onelie, zit we affirme that the faithfull, in the richt use of the Lords Table has conjunctioun with Christ Jesus as the naturall man can not apprehend " (Art. XXI. ; cf. English Articles). Papists have corupted, profaned, and adulterated the Sacraments : their stealing of the cup from God's people is sacrilege (Art. XXII.).

The civil magistrate is ordained of God, and to be honoured and obeyed accordingly as the " Lieu-tennents of God in whose Sessiouns God himself dois sit and judge " ; to kings and magistrates the conservation and purgation of religion chiefly belong : " Sik as

resist the supreme power, doing that thing quhilk appertains to his charge, do resist Goddis ordinance, and therefore cannot be guiltles."

Finally, though a Church have all the true notes, "we meane not that everie particular persoun joyned with sik company be ane elect member of Christ Jesus: For we acknowledge and confess that Dornell, Cockell, and Caffe may be sawen, grow, and in great aboundance lie in the middis of the wheit."

After a doxology, the Confession finely closes: "Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemies be confounded; let them flee from thy presence that hate thy godlie name. Give thy servands strenth to speake thy word in bauldnesse, and let all Natiouns cleave to thy trew knawledge. Amen."

It is the national and the native Confession of Scotland exhaling the spirit of the thrilling times that brought it into being. It is practical rather than theological in its terms and purpose, keenly alive to the needs of the hour—persuasion rather than controversy. If the language of the preface is stern and harsh towards Romanists, it is never mere abuse or caricature, it is the plain truthful speech of men who had seen and who had suffered, whose revered friends and teachers had been torn from their side and murdered for the truth. Though Edward Irving was less than fair to the Westminster Confession, — its supplanter as he deemed it,—his often quoted words cannot be improved upon: "The Scottish Confession was the banner of the Church in all her wrestlings and conflicts, the Westminster Confession but as the camp-colours which she hath used during her days of peace—the one for battle, the other for fair appearance and good order. This document . . . is written in a most honest, straightforward, manly style, without compliment or flattery, without affectation of logical precision and learned accuracy, as if it came fresh from the heart of laborious workmen, all the day long busy with the preaching of the truth, and sitting down at night to embody the heads of what was continually taught. There is a freshness of life about it which no frequency of reading wears off.[1]

[1] *Collected Writings*, London, 1864, i. 601.

THE SCOTTISH COVENANTS.

The *Scottish National Covenants* of 1581, 1638, and 1643 bridge the interval between the Scots and the Westminster Confessions. They are not technically Confessional in form, but they call themselves Confessions, and contain matter of the nature of doctrinal manifestos, and therefore claim a place in this review. They are a special feature of Scottish religion in arms against Popery and Prelacy in succession, and they expressly model themselves on such Old Testament Covenants as those of Joshua and Jehoiada, witnessing to the genuinely national character of the Reform movement in that country.

The *National Covenant*, or *Second Scots Confession*, also called the *King's Confession* (A.D. 1581), was in Scots and in Latin, the work of Knox's friend and colleague, John Craig. It solemnly reaffirms the Scots Confession, strengthening its condemnation of Roman usurpations "upon the scriptures of God, the Kirk, the Civill Magistrate and consciences of men; all his tyranous lawes made upon indifferent thingis againis our Christian libertie; . . . his fyve bastard sacraments . . . his cruell judgment againis infants departing without the Sacrament, his absolute necessitie of baptisme . . . his warldlie monarchie and wicked hierarchie . . . his erroneous and bloodie decreets made at Trente."

Schaff describes it as the most fiercely anti-Popish of all Confessions, and notes that its reference to infant salvation, corresponding to the private view of Zwingli and Bullinger, is the first Confessional utterance of the kind. The closing sentences will serve as an example of its contents.

In view of the existence of veiled Romanism and outward conformity in hope of the overthrow of the reformed faith, "We theirfoir, willing to take away all suspicion of hypocrisie, and of sic double dealing with God and his Kirk, protest and call the Searcher of all Heartis for witness that our mindis and heartis do fullilie agree with this our Confession, promeis, aith and subscription: sa that we ar not movit with ony warldlie respect, but ar perswadit

onlie in our conscience through the knawledge and love of Godis trew religion prented in our heartis be the Holie Spreit, as we sal answer to him in the day when the secreits of heartis sal be disclosed. And because we perceave that the quyetness and stabilitie of our Religion and Kirk doth depend upon the safetie and good behaviour of the Kingis Majestie . . . we protest and promeis solemnetlie . . . that we sall defend his personne and authoritie with our geare, bodies, and lyves in the defence of Christis Evangell, libertie of our countrey . . . as we desire our God to be a strong and mercifull defendar to us in the day of our death, and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father and the Holie Spreit, be all honour and glorie eternallie. Amen."

The Covenant was signed by King James VI., and his household, nobles, and ministers; later in the same year by the General Assembly of the Church, and by all ranks and classes; later still in 1590 with additions.[1]

The Renewed *National Covenant* of 1638 includes the *first*, with additions by Alexander Henderson and Johnston of Warriston, occasioned by the attempt of Charles I. and Archbishop Laud to force the Scottish Church to accept the Royal Supremacy, with a hierarchy and an elaborate Anglican service approximating to the Roman.

The *Solemn League and Covenant* of 1643 is also "anti-episcopal as well as anti-papal . . . the connecting link between Scottish Presbyterianism and English Puritanism, between the General Assembly and the Westminster Assembly, between the Scottish Parliament and the Long Parliament. It aimed to secure uniformity of religion in the united realms."[2] Its occasion was an appeal by the English Long Parliament and by the Westminster Assembly of Divines to the Scots for aid against Charles I. It was drawn up by Alexander Henderson, then Rector of Edinburgh University and Moderator of the General Assembly, and was enthusiastically adopted by the

[1] Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 685–694, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 480–485; Dunlop, *Collection*, pp. 99–137; M'Crie, *Confessions of Church of Scotland*, pp. 21–27; Scottish Church Histories.

[2] Schaff, *Hist.* p. 689.

Assembly and the Scottish Convention. It is not a theological but a politico-religious document.

THE ABERDEEN CONFESSION.

The *Aberdeen Confession* (A.D. 1616), though the work of the Episcopalian party during its ascendancy, and accordingly linked with the Five Articles of Perth (A.D. 1618) and the Laudian Service Book in popular dislike, is not a whit less Calvinistic in its Predestinarian or Sacramental or Scriptural doctrine than the Scots Confession, or indeed the subsequent Confession of Westminster.[1] Its language is naturally free from the violence of 1560. Though approved by the Assembly of 1616, it had but a short-lived authority. It had been previously drafted (by Hall and Adamson, according to Scot of Cupar), and during the Assembly was revised by Robert Howie of St. Andrews, Forbes of Corse, Hay, Struthers, and Cowper.[2] M'Crie credits it as a whole mainly to Howie.

EARLY CATECHISMS IN SCOTLAND.

In no country was systematic catechetic instruction of the young and the adult more highly prized or zealously practised than in Scotland during the century after the Reformation.[3] According to the First Book of Discipline:[4] "After noone must the young children be publickly examined in their Catechism, in the Audience of the People: in doing whereof the Minister must take great diligence as well to cause the people understand the Questions proponed as the Answers, and the Doctrine

[1] M'Crie, *Confessions*, pp. 27–35. Text in the *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, 1839, pp. 1132–1139, as "The New Confession of Faith"; Macpherson, *Hist. of Ch. in Scotland*, 1901, pp. 170–171; Mitchell, *Scottish Reformation*, 1900, p. 118; Grub, *Eccles. History*, 1861, ii. 306.

[2] Calderwood, *History*, 1842–49, vii. 233–242.

[3] Horatius Bonar, *Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation*, London, 1866; Dunlop, *Collection*, ii. 139–382; Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 696–701.

[4] Ch. 11, paragraph 3.

that may be collected thereof: the order to be kept in teaching the Catechism, and how much of it is appointed for every Sonday is already distinguished in the Catechism printed with the Book of our Common Order; which Catechism [sc. Calvin's] is the most perfect that ever yet was used in the Kirk." A very large number of manuals were in circulation. At the Hampton Court Conference, King James complained that in Scotland every good mother's son counted himself fit to write a catechism. One of the earliest to secure currency was a *Metrical Catechism by the Wedderburns*, corresponding to metrical forms of the Psalter and Apostles' Creed. In Latin, or in translation, the *Geneva Catechism of Calvin* and the *Heidelberg or Palatine Catechism* were authoritative. Admirable native products were *the Larger and the Shorter* (abridged) *Catechisms of John Craig*, the author of the First Covenant. The former appeared in 1581, was authorized in 1590, abridged by order of Assembly, and issued afresh in the shorter form which was the standard of instruction till superseded by the Westminster Catechism. Craig's Larger Catechism begins: "Who made man and woman?—The eternal God of his goodness. Whereof made he them?—Of an earthly body and an heavenly spirit. To whose image made he them?—To his own image." The Shorter, used for examination before Communion, begins—"What are we by nature?—The children of God's wrath," and contains ninety-six questions in twelve groups: of our bondage through Adam, our redemption by Christ, our Participation with Christ, the Word, our Liberty to serve God, the Sacraments, Baptism, the Supper, Discipline, the Magistrate, "the Table in special," the end of our Redemption. In both works question and answer are uniquely brief and pithy, many of the answers being models of lucidity and effectiveness. The same may also be said of the Latin *Summula Catechismi* or *Rudimenta Pietatis* long used in higher schools, ascribed to Andrew Simpson of Perth, a little manual in forty-one questions based on the "Threefold State of Man," (1) in sanctitate

et sanitate, (2) sub peccato et morte, (3) sub Christi gratia.

THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION.

The *Westminster Confession and Catechisms* (A.D. 1646–1647) were the work of a memorable Assembly of Divines selected, appointed, and maintained by the Long Parliament, "to be consulted with by the Parliament for the settling of the government and liturgy of the Church of England; and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations."[1] In 1640, Commissioners from Scotland had brought representations that "it is to be wished that there were one Confession of Faith, one form of Catechism, one Directory for all the parts of the public worship of God . . . in all the churches of his majesty's dominions," and the English Parliament reciprocated the desire. The Assembly was constituted in 1643, both Houses of Parliament without the Royal consent having condemned the episcopal hierarchy as "evil, offensive, and burdensome to the kingdom," and resolved to set up a government "most agreeable to God's word, most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and in nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other Reformed Churches abroad." The Assembly

[1] The text of the Westminster Standards is printed in full in Dunlop's *Collection*, vol. i. pp. 1–444, and in Müller's *Bekenntnisschriften* (pp. 542–652); the Confession and Shorter Catechism in Schaff, *Creeds of Evangel. Prot. Churches*, pp. 600–704. For history, see Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 701–804, a valuable account with comparisons and criticisms and useful bibliography of older works in general and special literature. The "Minutes of the Sessions of the Westm. Assembly (1644–1649)" are edited by Alex. F. Mitchell and John Struthers, Edin. 1874; cf. Hetherington, *History of the Assembly*, 4th ed., 1878; A. F. Mitchell, *Westminster Assembly* (rev. ed., Philad. 1897), *The Westm. Conf.*, 3rd ed., 1867; Warfield, "The Making of the Westm. Conf.," in *Presb. and Reformed Rev.*, Apr. 1901, p. 226 ff.; cf. also Beveridge, *Hist. of the Westm. Assembly*, Edin. 1904, an accurate popular summary of the matter contained in the earlier works; A. F. Mitchell, *Catechisms of the Second Reformation* (an invaluable study); H. Bonar, *Catechisms of the Scott. Reformation.* On the doctrine of the Confession a recent work, *Theology of the Westminster Symbols*, by Prof. Edw. D. Morris, Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A., 1900, pp. 858, is one of the most complete and well informed.

was to be composed of one hundred and fifty-one members, thirty of whom were eminent laymen (ten Lords, and twenty Commons), among them Selden, Pym, St. John, and Vane, and the rest divines representative of the English counties—a group of moderate Episcopalians, including the learned James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh, the Bishops of Exeter, Bristol, and Worcester, and five doctors of divinity from the Universities, a group of about a dozen learned Independents headed by Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye, an influential Erastian group, including Lightfoot, Selden, and Coleman, all distinguished Hebrew scholars, and representing the mind of Parliament, and a group, by far the largest, of Presbyterians, either, like Twisse the Prolocutor, Gataker, Reynolds, and Palmer, maintaining the *jus humanum* of Presbytery as consistent with Scripture, or insisting on its *jus divinum* as commanded by Scripture. A group of Scottish Commissioners, five ministers, including Alexander Henderson, Rector of the University of Edinburgh, Robert Baillie, Principal and Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, Samuel Rutherford of the same office at St. Andrews, and George Gillespie, a youthful Edinburgh minister of unusual talent, and three covenanting laymen, the martyr Marquis of Argyle, Lord Maitland, afterwards the persecuting Earl of Lauderdale, and Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, uncle of Bishop Burnet, were associated with the Assembly throughout, acting on all its committees, and by force of character, scholarship, and debating power exercising an influence out of all proportion to their number. King Charles's veto and the troubles of the Civil War prevented the Episcopalian divines, with one or two exceptions, from attending, but Ussher's absence with the King at Oxford failed to prejudice his theological influence in the proceedings, for his Confessional work was their basis, and, after all, the Assembly though Puritan was Anglican in its orders. The members were without exception convinced Calvinists of the orthodox type, without even a tinge of Arminianism. They debated in perfect personal

freedom, without haste or interference, under the common vow read at the beginning of each week's labours—

> "I do seriously promise and vow, in the presence of Almighty God, that in this Assembly, whereof I am a member, I will maintain nothing in point of doctrine but what I believe to be most agreeable to the Word of God; nor in point of discipline, but what may make most for God's glory and the peace and good of His Church."

The meetings were held first in the chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster, then in the historic Jerusalem Chamber in the Deanery. Ten weeks were devoted to the revision of the Thirty-nine Articles to bring them into unequivocally Calvinistic form on the lines of the Lambeth Articles and of Ussher's Irish Articles, and the first fifteen were finished, and supplied with Scripture proofs.[1]

By order of Parliament the Assembly then turned its attention to the preparation of a Confession of Faith, Catechisms, and Book of Discipline, for use throughout the three kingdoms. The Confession was ready after two years and a quarter of unremitting work, the Catechisms and Book of Order taking shape simultaneously. It was submitted in print to Parliament in Dec. 1646, again in April 1647, when furnished by order with Scripture proofs, which, it appears, the divines had not been desirous of incorporating with it. The chief responsibility for the authorship may be assigned to Drs. Twisse, Tuckney, Arrowsmith, Reynolds, Temple, Hoyle, Palmer, Herle, and the Scottish Commissioners, though every sentence was openly debated with freedom and deliberation. Parliament carefully considered the successive Articles, and omitted XXX. and XXXI., on Church Censures, and on Synods and Councils, with parts of XX., XXIII., and XXIV., on Christian Liberty, on the Civil Magistrate, and on Marriage. The work was then issued in 1648 in English and Latin by Parliamentary authority, and enjoyed, until the Restoration, the unique distinction of being the Con-

[1] For text, see Hall, *Harmony of Prot. Confessions*, pp. 505–512, where they are printed "just as a matter of curiosity."

fessional standard of the whole United Kingdom. It first received Royal Sanction in 1690 under William and Mary. In Scotland the Assembly of 1647 approved of it in its complete form as "most agreeable to the Word of God, and in nothing contrary to the received doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of this Kirk." In 1649 the Scottish Parliament also approved of it, and the Assembly ordained that "in every house where there is any who can read, there be at least one copy of the Shorter and Larger Catechism, Confession of Faith, and Directory for family worship." Though not intended by its English authors to be imposed on the individual conscience as a document for subscription, it was promptly so used in Scotland.

In its complete form, as still current, the Confession extends to thirty-three chapters, each containing a small group of articulate propositions. The chapters treat of Scripture, the Trinity, God's Decree, Creation, Providence, the Fall, Sin and its Punishment, God's Covenant with Man, Christ the Mediator, Free-will, Effectual Calling, Justification, Adoption, Sanctification, Saving Faith, Repentance unto Life, Good Works, the Perseverance of Saints, Assurance of Grace and Salvation, the Law, Christian Liberty and Liberty of Conscience, Worship and the Sabbath, Lawful Oaths and Vows, the Civil Magistrate, Marriage and Divorce, the Church, the Communion of Saints, the Sacraments, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Church Censures, Synods and Councils, the State after Death and the Resurrection, the Last Judgment. This is the order throughout, with slight additions and subtractions and divisions, of the nineteen Irish Articles of 1615,[1] which begin with Scripture and end with the Last Judgment, and much less closely, the order of the more theological portion of the thirty-nine English Articles. It thus anticipates one of the most generally accepted modern divisions of Christian doctrine, viz. the sequence, after a preface on Scripture, of God, Man, Christ, Salvation, Church, and Last Things.

[1] See above, p. 187.

The Doctrine of Scripture in ch. I. is a theological classic, and its contents deserve to be quoted not only as representative of the genius and spirit of the Westminster Assembly, but for their own dignity, comprehensiveness, and worth :

Sect. i. "Although the light of nature, and the works of Creation and Providence, do so far manifest the goodness, wisdom, and power of God as to leave men inexcusable ; yet are they not sufficient to give that knowledge of God and of his will which is necessary unto salvation ; therefore it pleased the Lord at sundry times and in divers manners to reveal himself and to declare that his will unto his Church ; and afterwards for the better preserving and propagating of the truth, and for the more sure establishment and comfort of the Church against the corruption of the flesh and the malice of Satan and of the world, to commit the same wholly unto writing ; which maketh the Holy Scripture to be most necessary ; those former ways of God's revealing his will unto his people being now ceased."

Sect. ii. enumerates the Canonical Books of Scripture "as given by inspiration of God to be the rule of faith and life," omitting all reference to the Apocrypha, and placing the Epistle to the Hebrews after the list of Paul's Epistles as an anonymous book.

Sect. iii. runs: "The books commonly called Apocrypha, not being of divine inspiration, are no part of the Canon of Scripture; and therefore are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved, or made use of, than other human writings."

Sect. iv. The authority of the holy Scripture, for which it ought to be believed and obeyed, dependeth not upon the testimony of any man or church, but wholly upon God (who is truth itself), the Author thereof ; and therefore it is to be received, because it is the Word of God."

Sect. v. "We may be moved and induced by the testimony of the Church to an high and reverent esteem of the holy Scripture ; and the heavenliness of the matter, the efficacy of the doctrine, the majesty of the style, the consent of all the parts, the scope of the whole (which is to give all glory to God), the full discovery it makes of the only way of man's salvation, the many other incomparable excellencies, and the entire perfection thereof, are arguments whereby it doth abundantly evidence itself to be the Word of God ; yet, notwithstanding, our full persuasion and assurance of the infallible truth, and divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word in our hearts."

Sect. vi. "The whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture: unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men. Nevertheless we acknowledge the inward illumination of the Spirit of God to be necessary for the saving understanding of such things as are revealed in the Word; and that there are some circumstances concerning the worship of God and government of the Church, common to human actions and societies, which are to be ordered by the light of nature and Christian prudence according to the general rules of the Word, which are always to be observed."

Sect. vii. "All things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all; yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them."

Sect. viii. "The Old Testament in Hebrew (which was the native language of the people of God of old), and the New Testament in Greek (which at the time of the writing of it was most generally known to the nations), being immediately inspired by God, and by his singular care and providence kept pure in all ages, are therefore authentical; so as in all controversies of religion the Church is finally to appeal unto them. But because these original tongues are not known to all the people of God who have right unto and interest in the Scriptures, and are commanded in the fear of God to read and search them, therefore they are to be translated into the vulgar language of every nation unto which they come, that the Word of God dwelling plentifully in all, they may worship him in an acceptable manner, and through patience and comfort of the Scriptures may have hope."

Sect. ix. "The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself; and therefore when there is a question about the true and full sense of any Scripture (which is not manifold but one), it must be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly."

Sect. x. "The supreme Judge, by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be

examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scripture."

Chs. III., V., IX., and XVII., on the Divine Decree, Providence, Free-will, and the Perseverance of the Saints, present a firm but far from extreme type of Calvinism. Written in full view of the great Reformed Confessions, they go beyond the Thirty-nine Articles, the Scots Confession, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Helvetic Confessions, in emphasizing the darker side of the Decree; but, like the Canons of Dort and the Irish Articles, they are strictly infralapsarian, though eminent members of the Assembly like Twisse were supralapsarian Calvinists. The Fall and its havoc are under a permissive, not a causal or effective decree. The term "reprobation" is not used: "preterition, passing by," has replaced it as a milder expression, perhaps through the influence of men on the drafting committee like Calamy and Arrowsmith, who sympathized with the Amyraldist "hypothetical universalism." Human freedom is affirmed, and "the liberty or contingency of second causes," as compatible with the Divine sovereignty. Between "particular election" and "hypothetical universalism," each of which found supporters in the debates, the Confession seems to halt.

Chs. VI.–IX., on Man, contain a development of the covenant-idea present in the Irish Articles: Two Covenants with parallel ordinances, of Works in Adam, of Grace in Christ, are distinguished —a theological scheme, traceable perhaps to Bullinger, which emphasizes human freedom, and which had been taught on Biblical authority by Rollock in Scotland, by Cartwright in England, by Olevianus in Germany, and by Cocceius in Holland.

Chs. X.–XVIII. are an exceptionally full and careful statement of the doctrines bound up with Justification.

Ch. XXI., of Religious Worship and the Sabbath Day, affirms the Puritan view of worship and of Sabbath-observance, the Hebrew Sabbath being a perpetual commandment, "changed" since the Resurrection of Christ to the first day of the week, the Lord's Day, so to be observed for ever.

Ch. XXV., on the Church, distinguishes the Invisible Church, the whole number of the Elect, from the visible Catholic Church, all who "profess the true religion, together with their children . . . the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation." "This Catholic Church hath been sometimes more, sometimes less visible."

"The purest churches under heaven are subject both to mixture and error; and some have so degenerated as to become no churches of Christ but synagogues of Satan." "There is no other head of the Church but the Lord Jesus Christ; nor can the Pope of Rome in any sense be head thereof, but is that Antichrist, that man of sin, and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ and all that is called God."

Ch. XXVI. sets forth the heavenly and the earthly Communion of Saints, and the sacred obligations involved, in admirable terms.

Chs. XXVII.–XXIX. set forth searchingly the full Calvinistic doctrine of the Sacraments in general and in particular, in terms which might satisfy every section of the Reformed Church apart from the Lutheran.

Ch. XXX., of Church Censures, provides for discipline through the officers appointed by authority of Christ to hold the keys of the Kingdom, or visible Church.

Ch. XXXI., of Synods and Councils, affirms their legitimate convocation either by authority of civil rulers or by their own, their right "ministerially" to determine controversies of faith and cases of conscience, etc., the authority of their decrees on spiritual matters if in harmony with God's Word, and declares, in words which necessarily apply to the Assembly itself and its articles: "All Synods or Councils since the Apostles' times, whether general or particular, may err, and many have erred; therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith or practice, but to be used as an help in both. (Cf. ch. XX. sect. ii.: 'God alone is lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to his word, or beside it, in matters of faith or worship, so that to believe such doctrines, or to obey such commandments out of conscience, is to betray true liberty of conscience, and the requiring of an implicit faith and an absolute and blind obedience is to destroy liberty of conscience and reason also.') Synods and Councils are to handle or conclude nothing but that which is ecclesiastical, and are not to intermeddle with civil affairs, which concern the Commonwealth, unless by way of humble petition in cases extraordinary; or by way of advice for satisfaction of conscience, if they be thereunto required by the civil magistrate."

Ch. XXXII. declares that "the bodies of men after death return to dust and see corruption, but their souls (which neither die nor sleep), having an immortal subsistence, immediately return to God who gave

them. The souls of the righteous, being then made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies; and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell, where they remain in torments and utter darkness, reserved to the judgment of the great day. Besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none. At the last day such as are found alive shall not die, but be changed: and all the dead shall be raised up with the selfsame bodies, and none other, although with different qualities, which shall be united again to their souls for ever. The bodies of the unjust shall by the power of Christ be raised to dishonour: the bodies of the just by his Spirit unto honour, and be made conformable to his own glorious body."

Ch. XXXIII. sets forth the nature of the Last Judgment, and its end "for the manifestation of the glory of his [God's] mercy in the eternal salvation of the elect, and of his justice in the damnation of the reprobate, who are wicked and disobedient. . . . As Christ would have us to be certainly persuaded that there shall be a day of judgment, both to deter all men from sin, and for the greater consolation of the godly in their adversity; so will he have that day unknown to men, that they may shake off all carnal security, and be always watchful, because they know not at what hour the Lord will come; and may be ever prepared to say, 'Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Amen.'"

Two portions of the Confession which have been the subject of ecclesiastical heart-searching or misgiving are those in chs. III. and X. concerning Predestination and Election, and in ch. XXIII. on the Civil Magistrate.

The former, after stating that "God from all eternity did, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass: yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin nor is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established,"—proceeds to affirm that some men and angels are predestinated, out of God's mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works or any other thing in the creature, unto everlasting life, whose number is certain and definite, whereas the rest of

mankind are foreordained to be passed by unto everlasting death for their sin, to the praise of God's glorious justice. Similarly (x. § 3): "Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when and where and how he pleaseth. So also are all other elect persons who are incapable of being outwardly called by the ministry of the word. Others not elected, although they may be called by the ministry of the word, and may have some common operations of the Spirit, yet they never truly come unto Christ, and therefore cannot be saved: much less can men not professing the Christian religion be saved in any other way whatsoever, be they ever so diligent to frame their lives according to the light of nature, and the law of that religion they do profess; and to assert and maintain that they may, is very pernicious and to be detested." These are essentially the positions of the Synod of Dort of 1619, subject to the same criticisms or misunderstandings. Nothing is said of the elect being few; no certain external or internal means for the recognition of the elect is indicated; the "rest of mankind" may be few or many; it is not definitely affirmed that any infants die inelect, though the natural suggestion is that some, if not indeed many, do, especially as election even of adults is without regard to future merit or worth in them. It is not wonderful that the Divines of Westminister, like their kinsmen and forerunners at Dort, should have felt it their duty to say: "The doctrine of this high mystery of predestination is to be handled with special prudence and care, that men attending the will of God revealed in his word and yielding obedience thereunto, may from the certainty of their effectual vocation be assured of their eternal election. So shall this doctrine afford matter of praise, reverence, and admiration of God, and of humility, diligence, and abundant consolation to all that sincerely obey the Gospel" (III. § 8).

The other passage, on the Civil Magistrate, acknowledges the Divine origin and claims of his authority, his

duty of taking "order that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed"; but continues: "for the better effecting whereof he hath power to call Synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God"; yet he "may not assume to himself the administration of the word and sacraments, or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven," the conception apparently being that he is not to interfere with spiritual things so long as they are Scripturally transacted by the Church, whose courts and decisions his strong arm is to enforce. Here also it may be admitted that the Confession did not succeed in foreclosing future embarrassment.

The Westminster Confession, then, does for the whole system of Calvinistic doctrine what the Canons of Dort did for one doctrine: it marks the maturest and most deliberate formulation of the scheme of Biblical revelation as it appeared to the most cultured and the most devout Puritan minds. It was the last great Creed-utterance of Calvinism, and intellectually and theologically it is a worthy child of the *Institutes*, a stately and noble standard for Bible-loving men. While influenced necessarily by Continental learning and controversy, it is essentially British, as well by heredity as by environment; for not only is it based upon the Thirty-nine Articles, modified and supplemented in a definitely Calvinistic sense at Lambeth and at Dublin, but it literally incorporates Ussher's Irish Articles, accepting their order and titles, and using, often without a word of change, whole sentences and paragraphs. To the reader of both documents the debt is patent on the surface, and the obligation goes down to the very heart of the thought. Ussher could not have secured more of his own way had he deserted the King and taken his seat in the Jerusalem Chamber. Only

Laudian Anglicans could seriously have dissented from the doctrine laid down. Born on the Thames, in the capital of the southern kingdom, the Confession, itself a painful reminder to the revellers of the Restoration of the sternness of the Long Parliament, soon was discarded by the national Church for which it was primarily prepared; it found a home and instant welcome in Scotland, to pass out thence into all the world with the strenuous and hardy emigrants who planted their faith wherever they sought to make their way in life. It still remains, in spite of changing times and altered formulæ of adherence, the honoured symbol of a great group of powerful Churches throughout the British Empire and the great American Republic, embracing within their membership a large proportion of the foremost representatives of the world's highest material, social, educational, moral, and religious interests. The English-speaking Presbyterian Churches throughout the world without exception adhere either to it or to some comparatively slight modification of it; while its hold, direct or indirect, upon Congregationalists and Baptists and others is a further tribute to its power both of education and of revival.

THE LARGER CATECHISM OF WESTMINSTER.

The *Larger Catechism of the Westminster Divines*, composed in 1647 simultaneously with the Confession and before the Shorter Catechism, was drafted mainly by Herbert Palmer, the author of a "Catechism" in high repute, published in 1640, with a distinctive method of its own, and by Anthony Tuckney, the learned Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and, like those other documents, furnished with carefully collected Scripture proofs. The basis of doctrine was Palmer's Catechism and Ussher's "Body of Divinity," and, of course, the debated conclusions of the Confession itself.[1] The Scottish Assembly of 1648 approved of it as a "Directory for catechizing such as have made some

[1] Briggs, *Presbyterian Review*, Jan. 1880.

proficiency in the knowledge of the grounds of Religion," and it is not to be judged as a manual for the young. It contains one hundred and ninety-six questions with answers that are not seldom very long, though admirably clear, because intended to be comprehensive. It begins : " What is the chief and highest end of man ?—Man's chief and highest end is to glorify God and fully to enjoy him for ever. How doth it appear that there is a God ?—The very light of nature in man, and the works of God declare plainly that there is a God : but his Word and Spirit only do sufficiently and effectually reveal him unto men for their salvation." And it ends : " What doth the conclusion of the Lord's Prayer teach us ? " after setting forth the doctrines of God, His Decrees, Creation, the Fall, Sin and its Punishment, the Covenant of Grace, Christ the Mediator, His Offices, Humiliation, and Exaltation, and Eternal Work, the Church, Membership in Christ, the Experience and Contents of Salvation, Future Judgment, the Commandments as Christian Duties, man's inability to keep them, the special aggravations of Sin, the Means of Grace—the Word, the Sacraments, and Prayer, with the proper meaning and use of each, the Lord's Prayer being expounded at the close. The Larger Catechism, though too elaborate to be popular, is historically of service as a supplement and commentary on the Confession, and as the basis of the popular " Shorter Catechism."

THE SHORTER CATECHISM OF WESTMINSTER.

The *Shorter Catechism*, prepared immediately after the other documents by a small committee, and likewise approved in 1648 by the Church of Scotland as a " Directory for catechizing such as are of weaker capacity," is an acknowledged masterpiece, a triumph of happy arrangement, of condensed and comprehensive instruction, of lucid and forceful expression. While Tuckney was in the later stages convener of the committee entrusted with its composition, and may have been largely responsible for its final phrasing,

the brilliant Cambridge mathematician and divine, the secretary, John Wallis, Palmer's intimate friend, is believed to have taken a very large share in the work. Materials were drawn not only from the Confession and Larger Catechism and their sources, but from other Catechisms among the large number current at the time, *e.g.*, besides Palmer's, those of Ezekiel Rogers, Matthew Newcomen, Gouge, and Ball.[1] The Scottish Commissioners cannot have had much to do with its preparation, as most of them had departed home before its compilation was materially advanced; but in Scotland it became at once, and has remained, a household book, a Bible in miniature, and the working Creed of the nation. If its teaching seems difficult and exacting for "such as are of weaker capacity" in our time, the fault may lie with our modern education, which so diffuses the interest and attention of the young over many subjects, mostly secular, that the concentration, formerly possible to all, upon religious and theological concerns, is hard to secure. No more successful compendium of Christian doctrine, arranged according to a theological scheme for practical instruction, and for memorizing, has ever been published. Its theological terms, Pauline in their origin for the most part, sit far from easily upon the lips of children; but they aid the memory, condense the truth, and are, as they were intended to be, fit and stimulating matter for exposition by the teacher. It is probable that we are apt to exaggerate the value of self-explanatory simplicity in such a manual. The Catechism was not meant to be learned without a teacher, and the teacher certainly cannot complain that he has platitudes to teach who has its questions and answers to expound. While the Shorter Catechism's relation to the Longer is described by a Scottish Commissioner as that of milk to meat, there was no idea of diluting the milk for the young and weak; for it was a recognized principle with the Assembly "that the

[1] See A. F. Mitchell, *Westm. Assembly*, Lect. xii.; also *Catechisms of the Second Reformation*, 1886, by the same author, pp. 3–39, where the chief parallels to each question and answer are printed.

greatest care should be taken to frame the answer, not according to the model of the knowledge the child hath, but according to that the child ought to have."

The Shorter Catechism contains one hundred and seven questions, the first and the last being the same as in the Larger Manual, with even simpler and happier answers. Many of the answers are classic utterances, and haunt both memory and intelligence. "Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy Him for ever."

"The Scriptures principally teach what man is to believe concerning God, and what duty God requires of man."

"God is a Spirit, infinite, eternal, and unchangeable, in His being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, and truth" (an answer ascribed by tradition to Gillespie, but at least anticipated in its terms by *A Compendious Catechism*,[1] by J. F., published in London, 1645).

"Sin is any want of conformity unto, or transgression of, the law of God."

"Christ as our Redeemer executeth the offices of a Prophet, of a Priest, and of a King, both in His estate of Humiliation and Exaltation."

"Christ executeth the office of a Prophet in revealing to us by His Word and Spirit the will of God for our salvation."

"Christ executeth the office of a Priest in His once offering up of Himself a sacrifice to satisfy Divine justice, and reconcile us to God, and in making continual intercession for us."

"Christ executeth the office of a King in subduing us to Himself, in ruling and defending us, and in restraining and conquering all His and our enemies."

"The Spirit applieth to us the Redemption purchased by Christ, by working faith in us, and thereby uniting us to Christ in our effectual calling."

"Effectual calling is the work of God's Spirit, whereby, convincing us of our sin and misery, enlightening our minds in the knowledge of Christ, and renewing our wills, He doth persuade and enable us to embrace Jesus Christ freely offered to us in the Gospel."

"Justification is an act of God's free grace, wherein He pardoneth all our sins, and accepteth us as righteous in His sight, only for the righteousness of Christ imputed to us and received by faith alone."

[1] See Schaff, *Hist.* p. 787, footnote on A. F. Mitchell's authority.

"Adoption is an act of God's free grace, whereby we are received into the number, and have a right to all the privileges, of the sons of God."

"Sanctification is the work of God's free grace whereby we are renewed in the whole man after the image of God, and are enabled more and more to die unto sin, and live unto righteousness."

"The benefits which in this life do accompany or flow from justification, adoption, and sanctification, are assurance of God's love, peace of conscience, joy in the Holy Ghost, increase of grace, and perseverance therein to the end."

"The souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness, and do immediately pass into glory, and their bodies, being still united to Christ, do rest in their graves till the resurrection."

"No mere man since the fall is able in this life perfectly to keep the commandments of God, but doth daily break them in thought, word, and deed."

"Faith in Jesus Christ is a saving grace whereby we receive and rest upon Him alone for salvation, as He is offered to us in the Gospel."

"The outward and ordinary means whereby Christ communicateth to us the benefits of redemption are His ordinances, especially the Word, Sacraments, and Prayer, all which are made effectual to the elect for salvation."

"That the Word may become effectual to salvation, we must attend thereunto with diligence, preparation, and prayer, receive it with faith and love, lay it up in our hearts, and practise it in our lives."

"A sacrament is an holy ordinance, instituted by Christ, wherein, by sensible signs, Christ and the benefits of the New Covenant are represented, sealed, and applied to Believers."

The Apostles' Creed, though not formally incorporated or expounded in the body of the Catechism, is printed at the close with the judicious note: "Albeit the substance of the doctrine comprised in that abridgment commonly called the *Apostles' Creed* be fully set forth in each of the Catechisms, so as there is no necessity of inserting the Creed itself, yet it is here annexed, not as though it were composed by the Apostles, or ought to be esteemed canonical Scripture as the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer (much less a prayer, as ignorant people have been apt to make both it and the Decalogue), but because it is a brief sum of the Christian Faith, agreeable

to the Word of God, and anciently received in the Churches of Christ."

A catechism containing sentences like the answers quoted, prepared with such fidelity to Holy Writ, and couched in language so dignified and unaffected, is in every way worthy of the authors of the Westminster Confession, and of the devoted acceptance of the Churches whose young life it has nourished in spiritual truth throughout the subsequent generations, and whose ageing members its well-remembered lessons have supported and solaced.

MODIFICATIONS OF THE WESTMINSTER CONFESSION.

I. IN BRITISH CHURCHES.

Modifications of the Westminster Confession in British Presbyterian Churches have not been wanting, but the definite changes hitherto effected have not been very substantial, though the attitude of the Churches has been unmistakably altered.

In Scotland, the adoptive home of the Confession, the forces of religious conservatism have combined with an intelligent appreciation of its solid worth and Scriptural foundation to retain it well-nigh inviolate as the symbol of every branch of the divided Church. By varying formulæ of subscription in the National Church, and by declaratory acts or statements in the Free Churches, a modicum of relief has been sought for tender consciences. In the Church of Scotland the earlier formulæ of 1694 and 1711, which declared the signatory's belief in the whole doctrine of the Confession, and that of 1889, which omitted the word "whole," were mitigated by a declaration appointed in 1903 to be read publicly before subscription, to the effect that the Confession "is to be regarded as an infallible rule of faith and worship only in so far as it accords with Holy Scripture interpreted by the Holy Spirit," replaced in 1910 by a formula framed with the concurrent authority of Parliament: "I hereby subscribe the Confession of Faith,

declaring that I accept it as the Confession of this Church, and that I believe the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith contained therein." In the United Presbyterian Church and in the Free Church, Declaratory Acts were passed in 1879 and 1892 to define on certain points the sense in which the Confession was to be understood, disowning the view that the Confession inculcated persecuting principles in relation to the duties of the Civil Magistrate, and the view that its doctrine of sin and grace taught that human corruption has destroyed human responsibility and the power to do virtuous actions, or that some infants are eternally lost, or that men are foreordained to death irrespective of their sin, or that Divine grace is not extended to any who are out of reach of its ordinary means.

In England a similar course was taken by the Presbyterian Church, but abandoned in 1888, and in 1890 *The Articles of the Faith*,[1] twenty-four in number, were drawn up by a committee presided over by Principal Oswald Dykes. What the precise authority and confessional standing of these articles may be is at present under discussion in the Church. Many influential members, both in and outside the committee, have held that they were prepared in order to define the doctrines in the Westminster Confession to be counted *de fide* and vital. Against that view it is urged that the twenty-four Articles have no defined confessional rank, that they are in the official statements deliberately excluded from the group of Subordinate Standards, that they were intended to furnish an orderly statement of sound doctrine drawn from the Bible, while they are "in substantial accord, both with the teaching of the Westminster standards accepted in this Church, and with the general system of doctrine which finds more or less full expression in every one of the long series of Reformed Confessions drawn up in the course of the sixteenth century." Whatever may be the precise terms of their adoption by the Church, the presumption is

[1] The *Articles of the Faith*, issued by Publication Committee of the Presbyterian Church of England, 1890. There is also a small account of their scope, etc., pub. by Donald Fraser, one of the framers.

that, as they were intended to give some measure of relief to consciences strained by the Westminster Confession, they were also intended to be accepted as a virtual substitute for it, and with greater cordiality. These articles briefly set forth a moderately conservative statement, influenced by the other standard Confessional utterances of Protestant Christianity, on God, the Trinity, Creation, Providence, the Fall, Saving Grace, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Work of Christ, the Exaltation of Christ, the Gospel, the Holy Spirit, Election and Regeneration, Justification by Faith, Sonship in Christ, the Law and New Obedience, Sanctification and Perseverance, the Church, Church Order and Fellowship, Holy Scripture, the Sacraments, the Second Advent, the Resurrection, the Last Judgment, the Life Everlasting. Comparison of these titles with those of the Confession at once reveals many of the doctrinal omissions. In the article on Election nothing is said of reprobation or preterition. It is as follows: "We humbly own and believe that God the Father, before the foundation of the world, was pleased of His sovereign grace to choose unto Himself in Christ a people whom He gave to the Son, and to whom the Holy Spirit imparts spiritual life by a secret and wonderful operation of His power, using as His ordinary means, where years of understanding have been reached, the truths of His word in ways agreeable to the nature of man; so that being born from above they are the children of God, created in Christ Jesus unto good works." Elsewhere the language of election is avoided; instead of "the elect" we read of "Christ's people," "every one who repents and believes," and so on. A noteworthy feature of the articles is their use of the proper language of a Creed: "we believe," "we acknowledge," "we adore," "we own," etc.

II. BRITISH MISSION CHURCHES IN CHINA AND INDIA.

In China (A.D. 1890) and in India (A.D. 1901 and 1904), unions of the Presbyterian Mission Churches have been

consummated upon the bases of eleven and of twelve short Articles epitomizing the doctrine of the Westminster Confession along similar lines, positive, Scriptural, and non-controversial, emphasizing the particular doctrines most required by missionary circumstances, and expressly affirming their loyalty to the standards of the parent Churches, the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, the Heidelberg Catechism, and the Canons of Dort, "as worthy exponents of the Word of God, and as systems of doctrine to be taught in our churches and seminaries."

The twelve Indian Presbyterian Articles were adopted at Allahabad in December 1904.[1]

I. affirms the Scriptures to be the "Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and duty."

II. defines God as "a Spirit, self-existent, omnipresent, yet distinct from all other spirits and from all material things: infinite, eternal, and unchangeable in His being, wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness, truth, *and love*."

III. affirms the Trinity.

IV. affirms Divine creation, providence, and government, without responsibility for sin.

V. describes man's original estate as in God's image: "all men have the same origin, and are brethren."

VI. describes the Fall, affirms the sin of all Adam's descendants in him, their addition of actual sin to original guilt and corruption, their desert of punishment.

VII. affirms God's gift of Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, as Saviour; His two distinct natures as true God and true man; His conception and birth, perfect obedience and sacrifice, "to satisfy Divine justice and reconcile men to God"; His death, burial, resurrection, ascension, intercession, and future coming, "to raise the dead and judge the world."

VIII. treats of the Holy Spirit, who "maketh men partakers of salvation."

IX. sets forth God's saving purpose and method of grace: "While God chose a people in Christ before the foundation of the world, that they should be holy and without blemish before Him in love; having foreordained them unto adoption as sons through

[1] Printed at the Allahabad Mission Press in 1905.

Jesus Christ, unto Himself, according to the good pleasure of His will, to the praise of the glory of His grace, which He freely bestowed on them in the Beloved; He maketh a full and free offer of salvation to all men, and commandeth them to repent of their sins, to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ as their Saviour, and to live a humble and holy life after His example, and in obedience to God's revealed will. Those who believe in Christ and obey Him are saved, the chief benefits which they receive being justification, adoption into the number of the sons of God, sanctification through the indwelling of the Spirit, and eternal glory. Believers may also in this life enjoy assurance of their salvation. In His gracious work the Holy Spirit useth the means of grace, especially the Word, Sacraments, and Prayer."

X. treats simply of the Sacraments, and their significance as signs and seals.

XI. sets forth Christian duties.

XII. affirms resurrection, judgment to come, reward and punishment: "Those who have believed in Christ and obeyed Him shall be openly acquitted and received into glory; but the unbelieving and wicked, being condemned, shall suffer the punishment due to their sins."

There follow—*the form of acceptance*: "I receive and adopt the Confession of Faith of this Church, as based on and in accord with the Word of God; and I declare it to be the Confession of my faith"; —a *declaratory note*: "In administering this test, the Courts of the Church exercise the discretion and charity that are required by the Word of God, and demanded by the interests of the Church"; —the *Constitution of the Church*, in fifteen Articles, the *Twenty-seven Canons* or Standing Orders; and the *Local Organization*.

The whole work impresses the outside reader as wise, guarded, practical, well-conceived, and well-expressed, and admirably suited to the needs of the Indian Church. The echoes of Western controversy are as subdued as possible within it.

III. IN WALES.

In Wales, the native Calvinistic-Methodist or Presbyterian Church, which formerly professed the Thirty-nine English Articles understood in a Calvinistic sense, adheres to the *Welsh Confession* of 1823, published also in English in 1827, which was authorized by the "Associations" of Bala and

Aberystwyth in 1823.[1] The Confession contains forty-four Articles treating of God's Being, the Scriptures, the Attributes of God, the Persons of the Trinity, God's Decree, Creation, Providence, Man's Original State, the Covenant of Works, the Fall and Original Sin, the State of Man by Nature, the Election of Grace, the Covenant of Grace, the Person of the Father and His work in Salvation, the Person of Christ the Mediator, His Offices, His Humiliation and Exaltation, Redemption, Christ's Intercession, the Person and Work of the Holy Ghost, the Necessity for His work to apply the Plan of Salvation, the Call of the Gospel, Union with Christ, Justification, Adoption, Regeneration, Sanctification, Saving Faith and its Fruits, Repentance unto Life, the Moral Law, Good Works, Peace of Conscience, Assurance of Hope, Perseverance in Grace, the Church, Church Fellowship, the Ordinances of the Gospel, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Obedience to the Civil Government, Death and the State after Death, the Resurrection, General Judgment, the Eternal State of the Wicked and the Godly. It is in all essentials a statement of the Westminster doctrine, whose general order, and whose language, with Methodist variations, it adopts. On the problems of election, and the asperities of Calvinistic doctrine on reprobation and the non-elect, it is discreetly silent. Kings and civil authorities are ordained of God; are to be honoured for the sake of their office, and not merely for personal virtues; and are to be obeyed in all things that are in accordance with the Word of God, the taxes they impose being paid without murmur, concealment, or fraud. In its English form it lacks the vigour of style and the dignity of its source—a loss natural in a paraphrase.

IV. IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

1. *The Presbyterian Church.*

In the Presbyterian Church in America, the Westminster Confession, after being subscribed and accepted

[1] Full text in Müller, *op. cit.*, and in publications of the Church. Brief reference in Schaff, *Hist.* p. 903 f.

simpliciter for a time as in Britain, experienced similar modifications and qualifications.[1] The Synod of Philadelphia in 1729 declared: "We do therefore agree that all the ministers of this Synod . . . shall declare their agreement in and approbation of the Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms . . . as being in all the essential and necessary articles good forms of sound words and systems of Christian doctrine, and do also adopt the said Confession and Catechisms as the Confession of our faith," adding later that some clauses in the twentieth and twenty-third chapters were not received "in any such sense as to suppose the civil magistrate hath a controlling power over Synods with respect to the exercise of their ministerial authority, or power to persecute any for their religion. . . . The Union of the Synods of Philadelphia and New York in 1758 adopted a similar declaration. The United Synod in 1787 amended the third section of ch. xxiii., "Of the Civil Magistrate," so as to exclude all interference with matters of faith, and to enjoin equal protection of all Churches and of the liberty of all men; ch. xxxi., so as to set aside the right of the Civil Ruler to call councils or assemblies; the last sentence of ch. xx. sect. 4, so as to omit the words "and by the power of the Civil Magistrate" in reference to Church discipline and censures; and omitted "tolerating a false religion" from the enumeration of sins against the Second Commandment in the Larger Catechism. At the re-union in 1869 of the "Old School" and "New School" sections of the Church, divided since 1837, the basis affirmed consisted of the "common standards; the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments shall be acknowledged to be the inspired Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice; the Confession of Faith shall continue to be sincerely received and adopted, as containing the system of doctrine taught in the holy Scriptures."

The same Church, now "The Presbyterian Church in

[1] Full text in Müller, pp. 941–946, where also the Declaration is printed; earlier history in Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 804–810.

the United States of America," felt it necessary in 1902 to make four important changes.

(*a*) It passed a Declaratory Statement defining the sense in which ch. III., "Of God's Eternal Decree," was held, as

"concerning those who are saved in Christ, in harmony with the doctrine of His love to all mankind, His gift of His Son to be the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and His readiness to bestow His saving grace on all who seek it; concerning those who perish, as in harmony with the doctrine that God desires not the death of any sinner, but has provided in Christ a salvation sufficient for all, adapted to all, and freely offered in the Gospel to all; that men are fully responsible for their treatment of God's gracious offer; that His decree hinders no man from accepting that offer; and that no man is condemned, except on the ground of his sin";

and declaring that ch. X. sect. 3,

"is not to be regarded as teaching that any who die in infancy are lost; we believe that all dying in infancy are included in the election of grace, and are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who works when and where and how He pleases."

(*b*) It amended ch. XVI. sect. 7 to read:

"Works done by unregenerate men, although for the matter of them they may be things which God commands, and in themselves praiseworthy and useful, and although the neglect of such things is sinful and displeasing unto God; yet, because they proceed not from a heart purified by faith, nor are done in a right manner, according to His Word, nor to a right end, the glory of God, they come short of what God requires, and do not make any man meet to receive the grace of God";

omitted from ch. XXII. sect. 3 the last sentence:

"Yet it is a sin to refuse an oath touching anything that is good and just, being imposed by lawful authority";

and amended ch. XXV. sect. 6 to read:

"The Lord Jesus Christ is the only head of the Church, and the claim of any man to be the vicar of Christ and the head of the Church is unscriptural, without warrant in fact, and is a usurpation dishonouring to the Lord Jesus Christ."

(*c*) "To express more fully the doctrine of the Church concerning the Holy Spirit, Missions, and the Love of God for all men," it added two new chapters to the Confession, viz.:

XXXIV. *Of the Holy Spirit* as (*a*) the Third Person in the Trinity, proceeding from the Father and the Son, of the same substance, equal in power and glory; (*b*) the omnipresent Lord and Giver of life, source of all good thoughts, pure desires, and holy counsels, inspirer of Prophecy and Scripture, dispenser of the Gospel; (*c*) the only efficient agent in the application of redemption; (*d*) the bond of communion, the mover and enabler of officers and members of the Church, the preserver and increaser of the Church.

XXXV. *Of the Love of God and Missions*: that (*a*) God freely offers His salvation to all men in the Gospel; (*b*) in the Gospel, God declares His love for the world and desire that all men should be saved, reveals fully the only way, promises eternal life to all who repent and believe in Christ, invites and commands all to embrace the offered mercy; and, by His Spirit accompanying the Word, pleads with men to accept His gracious invitation; (*c*) it is the duty and privilege of all immediately to accept, otherwise they incur aggravated guilt, and perish by their own fault; (*d*) since there is no other way of salvation than that revealed in the Gospel, and faith ordinarily comes by hearing the Word of God, Christ has commissioned His Church to go into all the world, and to make disciples of all nations. All believers are under obligation to sustain established ordinances of religion, and to contribute, by prayer, gifts, and personal efforts, to the extension of the Kingdom of Christ throughout the whole earth.

(*d*) It published a *Brief Statement of the Reformed Faith* in sixteen Articles: Of God, Revelation, the Eternal Purpose, Creation, the Sin of Man, the Grace of God, Election, Our Lord Jesus Christ, Faith and Repentance, the Holy Spirit, the New Birth and the New Life, the Resurrection and the Life to Come, the Law of God, the Church and Sacraments, the Last Judgment, Christian Service and the Final Triumph. Each article is brief, uncontroversial, and well expressed, beginning, as in the English Presbyterian Articles of 1890, of which they bear signs of close and appreciative study, with the words

"We believe," and passing in many instances to such cognate phrases as "we rejoice," "we confidently look for," "we joyfully receive." The Articles, as a whole, rank very high among such statements. Their tone and language are unexceptionable. True to their time, they do not wrestle with difficulties; they show no concern about the points which sundered Calvinist, or rather "Gomarist," and Arminian; they are as though the Synod of Dort had never been. But there is every likelihood that, in producing them, the powerful "Presbyterian Church in America," like its namesake in England, has done a pioneer work, in which it will ere long be followed by many other kindred bodies. More than any other Confession, perhaps, it speaks in modern language, such as the pulpit may utter frankly and without alteration or paraphrase. It is perhaps not an exaggeration to say that every Protestant Church might cheerfully and heartily accept it for use both at home and in the mission field. Time alone can disclose whether its avoidance of the controversial will secure a permanent concord. The Federation of the four main Presbyterian Churches in the United States, at present being consummated, is perhaps an augury of the early adoption of a similar document, or perhaps the document itself.

2. *The United Presbyterian Church.*

The "Associate" and "Associate Reformed" Churches, which united in 1858 to form the "United Presbyterian Church in America," had held the Confession much more rigorously than the "Presbyterian Church" just discussed.[1] The former had not at any time altered the text of the Confession, but had contented itself with issuing in 1784 a *Testimony*, five of whose articles refer to the Civil Magistrate, and deny that he is a ruler in the Church, or may grant privileges to those whom he considers true believers to the hurt of the natural rights of others, or

[1] Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 810–813.

has to do with other than civil and social obligations. The latter had in 1799 modified ch. XX. sect. 4, XXIII. sect. 3, and XXXI. sect. 2, safeguarding the autonomy of the Church, affirming the duty of the magistrate to protect it and enforce its lawful censures, and to further it without encroaching on the civil rights of others, and allowing him in special cases the right of calling an ecclesiastical synod to consult and advise about matters of religion; and in the Larger Catechism had changed "tolerating" into "authorizing a false religion" among sins against the Second Commandment. At the union of 1858 the word "tolerating" was restored in the Catechism, and modifications of the same three chapters were agreed upon. They affirmed the autonomy of the Church, the right and duty of the magistrate to punish those whose principles and practices, whether religious or political, openly propagated and maintained, were, in his judgment, subversive of the foundations of properly constituted society, but not to presume to judge heresy or schism; nothing being said of his right to summon ecclesiastical synods. Throughout its history, and all its divisions, this branch of the Presbyterian Church maintained the rest of the Westminster doctrine without dubiety or hesitation.

3. *The Cumberland Presbyterian Church.*

The *Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, another large Presbyterian body in the United States, sprung from a revival in Kentucky and Tennessee at the close of the eighteenth century, in which Methodists assisted Presbyterians, so early as 1813 adopted a Confession prepared by a Committee directed by Finis Ewing, and in 1829 ratified it after a final revision.[1] The *Cumberland Confession* consists of the Westminster Confession with the American amendments of chs. XXIII. and XXXI. (p. 287 above), with the teaching on Perseverance in ch. XVII. substantially retained, but with the doctrine of uncon-

[1] Schaff, *Hist.* pp. 813–816.

ditional election and preterition in ch. III. cut out as seeming to encourage fatalism, and with the change of "elect infants" in ch. x. sect. 3 into "all infants." A like Arminian change was made in the Shorter Catechism, so that to Qu. 7 the answer runs: "The decrees of God are his purpose according to the counsel of his own will, whereby he hath foreordained to bring to pass what shall be for his own glory: sin not being for God's glory, therefore he hath not decreed it." In Answer 20, "God having elected some," is changed to "God did provide salvation for all mankind"; and Qn. 31 runs, not "What is effectual calling?" but "What is the work of the Spirit?"

In 1881 the Cumberland Church appointed a Committee to prepare a *New Confession*.[1] In 1883 it was finished, and unanimously adopted. It contains thirty-six chapters, with a hundred and fifteen consecutively numbered sections, following the general outline and order of the Westminster Confession, though with characteristic alterations and additions. The topics are: Holy Scriptures, Holy Trinity, Decrees of God, Creation, Providence, Fall of Man, God's Covenant with Man, Christ the Mediator, Free-will, Divine Influence (in place of Effectual Calling), Repentance unto Life, Saving Faith, Justification, Regeneration, Adoption, Sanctification, Growth in Grace [order of last group of seven is changed], Good Works, Preservation of Believers, Christian Assurance, the Law of God, Christian Liberty, Religious Worship, Sabbath-day, Lawful Oaths and Vows, Civil Government, Marriage and Divorce, the Church, Christian Communion, the Sacraments, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Church Authority, Church Courts, Death and Resurrection, the Judgment. The diction of the Articles cannot be compared with the Westminster sentences, beside which they sound conversational and spasmodic or halting. The chapter on the Decrees is completely given as follows: "God, for the manifestation of his glory and goodness, by the most wise and holy counsel of his own will, freely and unchangeably ordained

[1] Text in Müller, pp. 912–927.

or determined what he himself would do, what he would require his intelligent creatures to do, and what should be the awards, respectively, of the obedient and the disobedient. Though all Divine decrees may not be revealed to men, yet it is certain that God has decreed nothing contrary to his revealed will or written word."

The doctrine corresponds in every respect with the earlier revision of the Westminster Confession by the same Church, whose principles and chief ideas it consistently applies throughout.

V. IN CANADA.

The doctrinal changes effected by the Presbyterian Churches in the United States go far to explain the unparalleled step which in Canada the Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Methodist Churches are seriously contemplating in their proposed union.[1] In truth, those alterations leave no standing ground for the traditional differences between Arminian and Conservative Calvinists. After four years of conference (1904-8), agreement has been reached in Committee regarding *Nineteen Articles* as the doctrine which the Churches, if ultimately united, would profess. The Baptist and Anglican Churches did not see their way to participate, as invited, in the unrestricted conference and negotiation. With its great home-mission problem, Canada, though little affected by theological laxity or indifference, has been driven by practical necessities to rise above all minor doctrinal differences. In it, both Methodists and Presbyterians have set their brethren in other lands a wise example in ending schism among themselves, and closing their own ranks. It will be a new day for Protestant Christianity, if three such denominations as Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists should find it feasible to unite their forces, whether for home or foreign missionary enterprise.

[1] Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of the Joint Committee on Church Union, etc., Toronto, Dec. 1908.

The Preamble runs: "We . . . do hereby set forth the substance of the Christian faith as commonly held among us. In doing so, we build upon the foundation laid by the Apostles and Prophets, confessing that Jesus Christ Himself is the corner-stone. We affirm our belief in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the primary source and ultimate standard of Christian faith and life. We acknowledge the teaching of the great Creeds of the ancient Church. We further maintain our allegiance to the Evangelical doctrines of the Reformation as set forth in common in the doctrinal standards adopted by the Presbyterian Church in Canada, by the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec, and by the Methodist Church. We present the accompanying statement as a brief summary of our common faith, and commend it to the studious attention of the members and adherents of the negotiating Churches, as in substance agreeable to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures."

Art. I. is of God: II., of Revelation: III., of the Divine Purpose: "We believe that the eternal, wise, holy, and loving purpose of God embraces all events, so that, while the freedom of man is not taken away, nor is God the author of sin, yet in His providence He makes all things work together in the fulfilment of His sovereign design and the manifestation of His glory": IV., of Creation and Providence: V., of the Sin of Man: "We believe that our first parents being tempted chose evil, and so fell away from God, and came under the power of sin, the penalty of which is eternal death; and that, by reason of this disobedience, all men are born with a sinful nature, that we have broken God's law, and that no man can be saved but by His grace": VI., of the Grace of God: ". . . God . . . in the Gospel freely offers His all-sufficient salvation to all men . . . also that God, in His own good pleasure, gave to His Son a people, an innumerable multitude, chosen in Christ unto holiness, service, and salvation": VII., of the Lord Jesus Christ: VIII., of the Holy Spirit: IX., of Regeneration: X., of Faith and Repentance: XI., of Justification and Sonship: XII., of Sanctification: XIII., of the Law of God: XIV., of the Church: XV., of the Sacraments: XVI., of the Ministry: XVII., of Church Order and Fellowship: XVIII., of the Resurrection, the Last Judgment, and the Future Life: XIX., of Christian Service and the Final Triumph.

Candidates for ordination must be "in essential agreement" with the doctrine of the Church, and accept the Statement above

" as in substance agreeable to the teaching of the Holy Scriptures," and must answer three questions affirmatively, viz. :

(1) " Do you believe yourself to be a child of God, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ ? " (2) " Do you believe yourself to be called to the office of the Christian ministry, and that your chief motives are zeal for the glory of God, love for the Lord Jesus Christ, and desire for the salvation of men ? " (3) " Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrines required for eternal salvation in our Lord Jesus Christ ? And are you resolved out of the said Scriptures to instruct the people committed to your charge, and to teach nothing which is not agreeable thereto ? "

VI. IN SOUTH AFRICA.

In *South Africa* a basis of Union between the Presbyterian, Wesleyan Methodist, Congregational, and Baptist Churches was drawn up and recommended in 1909 by a Conference at Bloemfontein, on Presbyterian initiative, the Dutch Reformed Church not seeing its way to co-operate in the movement.[1] *Inter alia*, five somewhat slight and loosely-drafted clauses set forth the simple evangelical basis of doctrine proposed. The Churches have not as yet assented to the proposed basis, the last three named having decided adversely meanwhile.

VII. IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

In *Southern India*, in July 1908, the first General Assembly of the " South India United Church," representing Congregationalists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, met and adopted a basis of union, including a Confession in five Articles : of God ; of Revelation and Scripture ; of Man's Creation in God's Image, Common Brotherhood, Sin and Helplessness ; of God's Salvation through Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit ; and of the Church, Ministry, Sacraments, and Things to come. There is a prefatory and a concluding note affirming : (1) " As the Confession is a human instru-

[1] Draft Constitution, etc., issued by order of Conference, 1909.

ment, it is understood that persons assenting to it do not commit themelves to every word or phrase, but accept it as a basis of union, and as embodying substantially the vital truths held in common by the uniting churches": (2) "the church reserves to itself the right to revise its general Confession of Faith whenever the consensus of opinion of the United Body demands it."

Other unions and federations elsewhere in the world, accomplished or being negotiated, involve no new standards, but rest on those already recognized.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONFESSIONS IN THE BAPTIST CHURCHES.

THE sixteenth century revolt against the superstition, formalism, corruption, and hierarchic tyranny of the Roman Church, which in the Lutheran, Anglican, Zwinglian, and Calvinist Churches proceeded on strictly ecclesiastical lines, assumed a more radical form in the Anabaptist societies which sprang up throughout Europe.[1] In worship they observed a puritan simplicity and fervour. In polity they inclined to presbyterian or congregational organization. In doctrine they cherished no artificial or coercive unity, being kept together by common revulsion from traditionalism, by common persecution, and by a common quest after a simpler Biblical piety and personal experience. Towards the State as towards the Church they looked in suspicion and distrust, dreading its worldliness, its appeal to force, its reliance on oaths, and in return they were hated as its subverters. They deserve honour as the pioneers of religious toleration —a principle always more easily mastered by the persecuted than by the persecutor. Much that is best in Quaker and in Baptist thought and life they anticipated, as they themselves had been anticipated by the Brethren, their namesakes, of earlier centuries in Bohemia and in the

[1] GENERAL LITERATURE.—SCHAFF, *Hist.*, and *Evang. Prot. Creeds*; UNDERHILL, *Confessions of Faith*, etc., 1854, for the seventeenth century; CROSBY, *Hist. of the English Baptists*, London, 1738–40; CRAMP, *Baptist History*, Philadelphia, 1871; T. ARMITAGE, *History of the Baptists*, New York, 1887; H. C. VEDDER, *Short Hist. of the Baptists*, Philadelphia, 1891; NEWMAN, *Hist. of the Baptists of the U.S.*, New York, 1894; artt. in HAUCK-HERZOG, *Realencycl.*, 3rd ed., in Schaff-Herzog ("Anabaptists," "Baptists," "Mennonites"), and art. "Anabaptism" in vol. i. of HASTINGS' *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics.*

Alpine Valleys. They had a lively appreciation of the doctrinal and ethical superiority of the New to the Old Testament, a vivid sense of individual responsibility and relationship to God, a reliance on the direct leading of the Holy Spirit. In their doctrine, as in their life, they strove to reproduce the New Testament ideal, demanding literal obedience to Christian precepts at their hardest, and in all things sincerity and simplicity. In an age like theirs it was inevitable that their attitude towards the Sacraments, especially Baptism, should arouse the keenest attention and lead to the fiercest antagonism and obloquy. Their free-thought on Baptism, their faith in the universal salvation of departed infants, their disbelief in infant-baptism as the degradation of the Sacrament to a meaningless or superstitious form, and their consequent insistence on adult re-baptism, seemed to be their crowning heresy, or blasphemy, or sacrilege, and won for them the name of "Anabaptist." Among their number were outstanding Humanists as well as illiterate peasants, well-balanced minds as well as crazy enthusiasts. Scorned, hated, reviled, and tormented by Romanist and orthodox Protestant alike, they were in innumerable instances the salt of their age. It was their misfortune to live before their time; it was their lot to suffer for its coming. With better information about their character and views, history at last is making a tardy reparation to their memory. The chapter on Anabaptism in a modern Church History, *e.g.* Principal Lindsay's *History of the Reformation*, is a strange and welcome contrast to its counterpart in older works.

I. ANABAPTIST CONFESSIONS.

Even before 1500 a simple *Catechism*, printed in many languages, was in current use, along with early versions of the Bible, among the Anabaptist societies. In the third decade of the sixteenth century, conferences are known to have taken place with a view to their closer union—in 1524 at Waldshut, in the house of their scholarly

and eloquent leader Balthasar Hübmaier, when a statement of principles, in particular against the miraculous efficacy of Sacraments, was prepared and separation from the Roman Church resolved upon; in 1526 at Augsburg, and in 1527 also at Augsburg, where a General Synod representative of widely scattered cities "drew up a statement of doctrinal truth, which is very simple, and corresponds intimately with what is now taught among the Moravian Brethren." [1] The tragic Münster episode, which did so much to bring discredit upon the Anabaptist name, gave to the world *Bernhard Rothmann's Theses* and *Confession of Faith*, 1532; [2] the *Twenty-one Articles*, or *Rules*, of Jan Matthys the Melchiorite Dutch visionary (A.D. 1533); and an Apology, or *Confession of the Faith and Life of the Christian Society at Münster*.[3]

II. MENNONITE CONFESSIONS.

Under the apostolic influence of the devoted Menno Simons, a Dutch priest who joined the Anabaptist movement in 1536 and gave the last twenty-five years of his martyr life to the cause, the scattered and dispirited congregations revived and were organized in spite of persecution into a church, in which baptism, though conditional upon profession of faith spontaneously made, was still for the most part administered by sprinkling, not immersion.[4] Winer [5] enumerates a group of Mennonite documents as follows:

The *Confession of Waterland* (A.D. 1580), the most important, drawn up in Dutch by De Ries and Gerardi, represents the Waterland division of the Church, which was more liberal in its discipline, but contains the characteristic doctrine of all sections. It consists of forty Articles,

[1] Lindsay, *op. cit.* ii. p. 435.

[2] Summary in Detmer's work on him, Münster, 1904; Lindsay, *Hist.* ii. pp. 452, 456.

[3] Lindsay, ii. p. 464 and footnote.

[4] Winer, *Compar. View of Doctrines and Confessions*, pp. 29–31, with bibliog. and further details.

[5] Winer, *op. cit.* Introd. § 5.

which deny the guilt of original or transmitted sin, affirm the conditional election of all, and universal atonement, condemn oaths, war, civil office, litigation, revenge, worldly amusements, infant baptism as unscriptural; approve of obedience to civil magistrates in all things not contrary to conscience and God's word; but on other points conform to the normal tenets of Protestantism.

Confessions were also published in 1591; in 1628 *Ontermann's Confession of the One God*; in 1629 the *Confession of the Olive Branch*; in 1630 the *Short Confession of the United Frisian and German Baptists*, and *Cornelis' fifteen Principal Articles*; in 1664 a *Leyden Confession*; and in 1766 *De Ries' Doctrine of the True Mennonites*, sanctioned by many churches. *Catechisms* widely used were those of 1697 by Dooregest, Beets, and Schyn, of 1743 by Baudouin, and of 1783.

III. CALVINISTIC BAPTIST CONFESSIONS IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

The great majority of modern Baptists belong to the "Regular" or "Particular" denomination, and are, apart from the mode and age or condition and theory of baptism, Calvinists in doctrine, Voluntaries and Congregationalists in polity. They believe in the salvation of all who die before attaining to years of discretion, and hold that baptism is simply an outward sign and profession of grace already received, of faith in Christ and membership in His Church. Their Confessions, in harmony with their Congregationalist polity, are not so much obligatory standards, as manifestos of prevailing doctrine, issued often with an apologetic purpose.

The *Confession of Seven Churches in London* (A.D. 1644) was published during the sitting of the Westminster Assembly, from whose deliberations Baptist divines were excluded, "for the vindication of the truth and information of the ignorant: likewise for the taking off of those aspersions which are frequently both in pulpit and print

unjustly cast upon them."[1] Its fifty-two Articles are Calvinistic throughout, apart from the Sacraments and Church polity. Its closing paragraph, like the Scots Confession, disclaims infallibility: "We confess that we know but in part, and that we are ignorant of many things which we desire and seek to know: and if any shall do us that friendly part to show us from the Word of God that we see not, we shall have cause to be thankful to God and them. But if any man shall impose upon us anything that we see not to be commanded by our Lord Jesus Christ, we should in His strength rather embrace all reproaching and tortures of men . . . than do anything against the least tittle of the Truth of God. . . . And if any shall call what we have said heresy, than do we with the Apostle acknowledge that after the way they call heresy worship we the God of our fathers, disclaiming all heresies (rightly so called) . . ."

The forty-six *Articles of Somersct* were adopted by sixteen churches in that county and neighbourhood in 1656.

The *Confession of* 1677, re-issued in 1688 and again in 1689 with the approval of the representatives of a hundred congregations met in London, became at once the recognized standard, and has remained the historic manifesto of the Particular Baptists not only in Britain but in America, where it received the sanction of the Association of 1742 at Philadelphia, and the title *Confession of Philadelphia*. Its thirty-two chapters are simply a Baptist recension of the Westminster Confession, altered only in the chapters dealing with the Church and the Sacraments. It thus corresponds to the Congregational Savoy Declaration of 1658, and in fact professes to have for its aim, in adhering to the Westminster Confession, to "show the agreement of Baptists with the Presbyterians and Congregationalists" in all the fundamental Articles

[1] Text in Underhill's *Collection of Baptist Confessions*, pub. by Hanserd Knollys Society; Schaff, *Hist.* p. 854; Green, *Christian Creed and the Creeds of Christendom*, London, 1898, p. 150 f.

of the Christian Religion, and to demonstrate that they have "no itch to clog religion with new words."

From the Savoy Declaration ch. xx. is inserted, "of the Gospel and the extent of Grace thereof." [1]

In ch. xx. of the Westminster Confession, Art. 4 is omitted respecting resistance to the Civil Magistrate and punishment of heretics by the same power.

In ch. xxiii., *of the Civil Magistrate*, Artt. 3 and 4 are omitted, which admit the power of magistrates to take order to maintain the purity of the Church and to summon councils, and their right to be obeyed by all notwithstanding evil character or unbelief, and a short sentence is inserted enjoining "subjection in all lawful things . . . to be yielded . . . in the Lord," and prayers to be offered on their behalf.

In ch. xxv. *of the Church*, the six articles are re-cast, modified, and expanded into fifteen—enjoining communion in the visible Church, defining membership in Baptist terms, recognizing bishops or elders and deacons as office-bearers, appointing their election to be by congregational suffrage and their ordination to be by prayer and fasting and the imposition of hands, urging fellowship between congregations and the holding of assemblies to advise and counsel, not to exercise jurisdiction.

In place of ch. xxvii., *of the Sacraments*, two articles stand: "1. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are ordinances of positive and sovereign institution, appointed by the Lord Jesus, the only Lawgiver, to be continued in his Church to the end of the world. 2. These holy appointments are to be administered by those only who are qualified, and thereunto called, according to the commission of Christ."

In place of ch. xxviii., *of Baptism*, four articles stand: "1. Baptism is an ordinance of the New Testament ordained by Jesus Christ to be unto the party baptized a sign of his fellowship with him in his death and resurrection; of his being engrafted into him; of remission of sins; and of his giving up unto God, through Jesus Christ, to live and walk in newness of life. 2. Those who do actually profess repentance towards God, faith in and obedience to our Lord Jesus, are the only proper subjects of this ordinance. 3. The outward element to be used in this ordinance is water,

[1] See p. 321 below.

wherein the party is to be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. 4. Immersion, or dipping of the person in water, is necessary to the due administration of this ordinance."

Ch. XXX., *of Church Censures*, and ch. XXXI., *of Synods and Councils*, are omitted wholly.

The *Baptist Catechism commonly called Keach's Catechism*, which bears the same relation to the Westminster Shorter Catechism as the Baptist Confession of 1677 to that of Westminster, was prepared in 1693 by William Collins, by instruction of the Assembly of that year in London. Benjamin Keach had been associated with Collins in the re-issue of the Confession in 1688, and is credited with a considerable share in the work. Underhill, who gives it in his *Collection*,[1] describes it as "the only Catechism of value among Baptists."

The *New Hampshire Confession* (A.D. 1833) is the work of J. Newton Brown of New Hampshire, a theological author and editor. It has been accepted generally by American Baptists, especially in the Northern and Western States, since its adoption by the New Hampshire Convention. Its eighteen articles,[2] each of which begins with the words *We believe*, treat very briefly of the Scriptures, the True God, the Fall of Man, the Way of Salvation, Justification, the Freeness of Salvation, Grace in Regeneration, Repentance and Faith, God's Purpose of Grace, Sanctification, the Perseverance of Saints, the Harmony of the Law and the Gospel, a Gospel Church, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the Christian Sabbath, Civil Government, the Righteous and the Wicked, and the World to come. The language is often felicitous in its attempt to express the essence of Calvinism in terms which shall not repel.

Three articles may serve as specimens of the work.

Art. VI., *of the Freeness of Salvation*, runs: "We believe that the blessings of salvation are made free to all by the Gospel; that it is the immediate duty of all to accept them by a cordial, penitent,

[1] Pp. 247–270.

[2] Text in Schaff, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 742–748.

and obedient faith : and that nothing prevents the salvation of the greatest sinner on earth but his own inherent depravity and voluntary rejection of the Gospel ; which rejection involves him in an aggravated condemnation."

Art. IX., *of God's Purpose of Grace*, runs : "We believe that election is the eternal purpose of God, according to which he graciously regenerates, sanctifies, and saves sinners ; that, being perfectly consistent with the free agency of man, it comprehends all the means in connection with the end ; that it is a most glorious display of God's sovereign goodness, being infinitely free, wise, holy, and unchangeable ; that it utterly excludes boasting, and promotes humility, love, prayer, praise, trust in God, and active imitation of his free mercy ; that it encourages the use of means in the highest degree ; that it may be ascertained by its effects in all who truly believe the Gospel ; that it is the foundation of Christian assurance ; and that to ascertain it with regard to ourselves demands and deserves the utmost diligence."

Art. XIV., *of Baptism and the Lord's Supper*, runs : "We believe that Christian Baptism is the immersion in water of a believer, into the name of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost ; to show forth in a solemn and beautiful emblem our faith in the crucified, buried, and risen Saviour, with its effect in our death to sin and resurrection to a new life ; that it is pre-requisite to the privileges of a church relation, and to the Lord's Supper, in which the members of the Church, by the sacred use of bread and wine, are to commemorate together the dying love of Christ ; preceded always by solemn self-examination."

IV. ARMINIAN BAPTIST CONFESSIONS IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

The Free-will, or General, or Arminian Baptists, like the Mennonites, affirm conditional election, the freedom of the human will, and the possibility of falling away from grace. They also diverge somewhat from Congregationalism in retaining a form of episcopate with pastors and deacons, and in assigning more authority to their General Assemblies. Their earliest confession[1] is the *Declaration*

[1] Text in Underhill's *Collection*, pp. 1–10,

of Faith of English People remaining at Amsterdam in Holland, drawn up in 1611 in one hundred Articles (based on thirty-seven prepared in Dutch by two Mennonite pastors, De Ries and Gerrits, in 1609), by John Smyth for his congregation of English refugees, and after controversy re-cast in rival form by his colleague Helwys in twenty-seven Articles in the same year. Of the latter form Art. v. says: "God before the foundation of the world hath predestinated that all that believe in him shall be saved, and all that believe not shall be damned; all which he knew before . . . not that God hath predestinated men to be wicked, and so be damned, but that men being wicked shall be damned." Art. vii. denies the necessary "perseverance" of Saints: "men may fall away from the grace of God, and from the truths which they have received and acknowledged." Art. x. defines the Church as the company of believers baptized upon their own confession of faith, without requiring immersion. Art. xxiv. enjoins obedience to magistrates.

The *London Confession*,[1] in twenty-five Articles, was presented to Charles ii. in 1660.

The *Orthodox Creed of 1678*[2] emanated from the Free-will Baptists of Oxfordshire. According to Schaff, "it makes a near approach to Calvinism, with a view to unite Protestants in the fundamental articles against the errors of Rome.[3]

The *Confession of the American Free-will Baptists*,[4] approved by Conference in 1834, revised in 1848, 1865, and 1868, is the most important and authoritative statement of Arminian Baptist views. Its twenty-one brief chapters, some but a sentence long, treat of Scripture, the Being and Attributes of God, Divine Government and Providence, Creation, Primitive State of Man and Fall, Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Atonement and Mediation of Christ, the Gospel Call (as "co-extensive with the

[1] Text in Underhill, pp. 107–120.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 120–168.
[3] *Hist.* p. 858.
[4] Text in Schaff, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 749–756.

atonement to all men both by the word and the strivings of the Spirit ; so that salvation is rendered equally possible to all ; and if any fail of eternal life the fault is wholly their own "), Repentance, Faith, Regeneration, Justification and Sanctification, Perseverance of the Saints (" there are strong grounds to hope that the truly regenerate will persevere unto the end and be saved, through the power of Divine grace which is pledged for their support ; but their future obedience and final salvation are neither determined nor certain ; since through infirmity and manifold temptations they are in danger of falling ; and they ought therefore to watch and pray, lest they make shipwreck of faith and be lost "), the Sabbath, the Church, the Gospel Ministry, Ordinances of the Gospel, Death and the Intermediate State, the Second Coming of Christ, the Resurrection, the General Judgment, and Future Retributions.

V. CONFESSIONS OF MODERN BAPTIST BRETHREN.

No mean part in the revival of spiritual life and the promotion of Christian fellowship in Britain and America during the nineteenth century was played by Societies of *Brethren*, drawn not only from the regular Baptist Churches but from all denominations, united by a common sense of the scandal of ecclesiastical divisions and a yearning to find, by a return to Christ and to apostolic simplicities of doctrine, life, and organization, the way to lasting unity. They based their whole system upon a literal return to what they regarded as obvious New Testament example and precept, practising adult baptism, looking for the Second Coming of Christ on Earth, dispensing with a priesthood or clergy, breaking bread in common each Lord's Day, trusting the Holy Spirit to prompt their teachers and evangelists and guide their pastors. Hitherto their vision of unity has not prevented disunion among themselves. They differ on many detailed points, and schism and excommunication have been frequent. There has

been a growing tendency to reopen and debate afresh as new issues heresies and speculations that have disturbed the Christian Church from the beginning. In every town and city throughout Britain and America, and beyond, they have established themselves, exerting, it cannot be doubted, a salutary influence upon the older systems of Church life which they so freely criticize,—reproducing, in fact, in our era the activities of the early Anabaptists in theirs. Into the minutiæ of their differences there is no need in a review like this to enter, or to discuss the "open" and "close" types of fellowship into which, *e.g.*, the Plymouth Brethren or Darbyites, their most distinguished association, have resolved themselves.[1] Some branches identify themselves with special doctrines, as *e.g.* "The Church of Baptized Believers" with Conditional Immortality viewed as the gift of Christ at the resurrection when He comes again, and with the Restoration of the Twelve Tribes to Palestine. Although the Brethren have no Creeds in the strictest sense of the term, it may be of interest if representative Statements of Principles are printed from two of the best known of their organizations, —the first as orthodox as the second is heterodox in its scheme of doctrine.

CONFESSION OF THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST, OR CHURCHES OF CHRIST.

The "Christians" or "Disciples of Christ,"—a numerous body in the United States of America, with associated members in Britain known as "Churches of Christ,"—are also known as Campbellites, because in 1809 they were instituted by Thomas Campbell, a Presbyterian minister from the North of Ireland. The following brief statement of their principles was prepared under the supervision of their General Christian Missionary Convention for

[1] See art. "Brethren, Plymouth," in Hastings, *Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*; W. B. Neatby, *History of Plymouth Brethren*, 2nd ed. London, 1902; J. S. Teulon, *Hist. and Doctrines of the Plymouth Brethren*, 1883.

distribution during the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 :

The "Christians or Disciples of Christ" plead for the union of all Christians, to the end that the world may be evangelized. To secure this they teach that there must be a return to the principles and practice of the apostolic age, according to the axiom : "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak ; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent." The following brief synopsis comprehends substantially the conclusions arrived at in the application of the above axiom :

That the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the inspired Word of God, and that they are all-sufficient as a rule of faith and life. Hence all human creeds as tests of fellowship and bonds of communion are rejected, seeing that they cause and perpetuate division.

That there is one God, the Father, who created and sustains all things.

That Jesus was God manifest in the flesh ; that he died for our sins and arose again for our justification ; that he ascended into heaven, where he ever liveth to make intercession for us.

That the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, and that in conversion and sanctification he operates through the truth.

That baptism is the immersion in water of a penitent believer, into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

That the death of Christ should be commemorated on the first day of every week in the Lord's Supper.

That the followers of Christ ought not to wear any names other than those found in the New Testament, such as Christian, Disciple, etc.

That the Church consists of all the regenerate, and that these constitute one flock even as there is but one Shepherd. Our Lord prayed for the union of his followers that the world might believe. The apostles urged the Church to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Hence sectarianism and denominationalism are necessarily unscriptural and essentially evil.

That in the Christian system Christ is central and supreme. Christ himself is preached as the only Saviour of sinners and the only head of the Church ; hence we call no man master ; neither Paul, nor Apollos, nor Cephas, nor Luther, nor Calvin, nor Wesley,

nor Campbell; according as it is written, "he that glorieth let him glory in the Lord."

It is confidently believed that the position herein set forth is scriptural and catholic, and the only practical basis for the union of all Christians. With a return to apostolic principles and practices, the divisions which are now the shame and weakness of the Church would cease to exist, and the one great barrier to the complete and speedy evangelization of the world would be abolished. The men and means now needed to maintain sectarian and denominational establishments could be used in the regions beyond. A united Church would be irresistible, and in a single generation could carry the Gospel to every kindred, and tribe, and people, and tongue on the globe. Our Lord's prayer would be answered, and the world would believe. This is a matter of supreme moment, and no denominational associations, however sacred, and no vested interests ought to be allowed to stand, for a single instant, in the way of its consummation.[1]

CONFESSIONS OF THE CHRISTADELPHIAN CHURCHES.

The Christadelphian Ecclesiæ trace their foundation to the inspiration of Dr. John Thomas, a London physician, who emigrated to the United States in 1832, and joined the Campbellites, but was soon led to renounce many of their doctrines and their fellowship. His personal study of the Bible led to a complete breach with the historical Churches, their doctrine and organization. He published his conclusions, furnished with Scripture proofs, in a popular *Summary of the Christianity revealed in the Bible*.[2] These became the basis, *e.g.* of the prosperous Ecclesia which sprang up in Birmingham. But some of his negative conclusions as to "fables current in the religious world" have been omitted in other statements. He coined the name "Christadelphian" in 1864.

We may take as representative statements those of the

[1] Statement of Principles submitted officially at the "World's Parliament of Religions," Chicago, 1893. See *Report*, London, 1893, vol. ii. pp. 1438, 1440. Cf. also leaflets and summaries issued by the Publishing Committee of Churches of Christ, in Birmingham, and elsewhere.

[2] Halifax, 1865.

Ecclesiæ of Birmingham and of Balham, London. It will be observed that the Divine Trinity and the existence of a personal Devil are denied, adult Baptism is required, the resurrection and salvation of heathens, idiots, and those who die in infancy is denied, the restoration of Israel to Palestine at the Second Coming, and the gift of immortality to baptized believers alone at the Resurrection, are taught. In the Christadelphian system the extreme and the anarchical elements which have never been wholly absent from the outskirts of Anabaptist and Baptist movements are found combined into a singular unity.[1]

A STATEMENT OF THE "ONE FAITH" OF THE BIRMINGHAM ECCLESIA.[2]

Part I. contains, in sixteen Articles, the "*Truth to be believed.*"

1. God.—That the God revealed to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob by angelic visitation and vision, and to Moses at the flaming bush (unconsumed), and at Sinai, and who spoke through the prophets who arose in Israel, is the supreme self-existent Deity, who is One, and hath out of His own underived energy created heaven and earth and all that in them is; that He sustains all things by His power, which is infinite; guides all things by His wisdom, which is perfect; and knows all things by His spirit, which is omnipresent; that He dwells somewhere in the vast expanse around us in Unapproachable Light, and is the only Being in the universe possessed of inherent deathlessness, whom no man hath seen nor can see.

2. Nature of Man.—That God created Adam, the progenitor of the human race, out of the dust of the ground, as a living soul or natural body of life, and placed him under a law through which the continuance of life was contingent on obedience.

3. Disobedience of Adam.—That Adam broke this law and was adjudged unworthy of immortality, and sentenced to return

[1] See further art. "Christadelphians," by F. J. Powicke, in *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics.*

[2] *The Record of the Birmingham Christadelphian Ecclesia*, etc., Birmingham, 1871.

to the ground from whence he was taken, in which sentence all mankind are involved.

4. Scheme of Salvation.—That God in His kindness conceived a plan of restoration which, without setting aside His just and necessary law of sin and death, should ultimately rescue the race from destruction, and people the earth with sinless immortals.

5. The Promises to the Fathers.—That He inaugurated this plan by making certain promises to Adam, Abraham, and David, which were afterwards elaborated in greater detail through the prophets.

6. The Last Adam.—That these promises had reference to a second (or last) Adam, to be raised up in the line of Abraham and David, who should purchase life by perfect obedience, and die for those who were under condemnation, and afterwards be raised to immortality; and be permitted to extend a participation in his life and inheritance to all who should believe and obey him; and that he should afterwards become the head and ruler of the whole world.

7. Jesus the Christ, Son of the Living God.—That this second Adam was God with us, manifested in the flesh, and known as Jesus of Nazareth, who was of like nature with mortal man, being born by the virgin Mary (of the house and lineage of David), yet begotten of her by the Holy Spirit, without the intervention of man, and afterwards anointed with the same Spirit without measure at his baptism, to speak the words and do the works of his Father.

8. The Message of Heaven.—That the message he delivered from God to his kinsmen the Jews, was a call to repentance from every evil work, the assertion of his divine sonship and Jewish kingship; and the proclamation of the glad tidings that God would restore their kingdom through him, and accomplish all things written in the prophets.

9. The Lamb of God.—That for delivering this message he was put to death, and thus offered as a sacrifice to take away the sins of the world; and thereby confirm (or make possible of fulfilment) the promises made unto the fathers.

10. The Resurrection of Christ.—That on the third day God raised him from the dead, because he was an Holy One whom He could not suffer to see corruption.

11. His Priesthood.—That he was exalted to the heavens as

the victorious second Adam, to stand as priestly mediator between God and man, in the process of gathering from among them a people who should be saved by the belief and obedience of the truth.

12. His Embassage to the World.—That he sent forth apostles to proclaim salvation through him, as the only name given under heaven whereby men may be saved.

13. The Terms of Salvation.—That the way to obtain this salvation is to believe the gospel they preached, and to take on the name and service of Christ, by being thereupon immersed in water.

14. The Gospel Defined.—That the gospel they preached consisted of "the things concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ."

15. The Gospel Analysed.—That these things are—

1st. The Things of the Kingdom:

A. The fact that God will through Jesus Christ set up a kingdom in the earth which will subdue all others and turn them into "the kingdoms of our Lord and His Christ."

B. That for this purpose Jesus Christ will be revealed from heaven, and appear again on earth at the close of the time of the Gentiles.

C. That the kingdom of God then to be established will be the ancient kingdom of Israel restored in the territory formerly occupied by it, viz., the land bequeathed for an everlasting possession to Abraham and his seed (the Christ) by covenant; that this restoration of the kingdom again to Israel will involve—

(1) The ingathering of God's chosen but scattered nation, the Jews.

(2) Their reinstatement in the land of their fathers, when it shall have been reclaimed from "the desolations of many generations."

(3) The building again of Jerusalem to become "the throne of the Lord," and metropolis of the whole earth.

(4) The development, by resurrection and change, of "the nation bringing forth the fruits thereof," constituting with Christ as their head the collective "seed of Abraham" in whom all nations will be blessed, and comprising "Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and all the prophets."

(5) The establishment of a law to go forth to the nations for their "instruction in righteousness," resulting in the abolition of war to the ends of the earth; and the filling of the earth

with the knowledge of the glory of Jehovah, as the waters cover the sea.

D. That at the appearing of Christ, his servants, faithful and unfaithful, dead and living of both classes, will be summoned before his judgment-seat, "to be judged according to their works"; "and receive in body according to what they have done, whether it be good or bad"; that the unfaithful will be consigned to shame and "the second death," and the faithful invested with immortality, and associated with Jesus as joint-heirs of the kingdom, co-possessors of the earth, and joint-administrators of God's authority, in matters both political and religious.

E. That the kingdom of God thus constituted will continue a thousand years, during which sin and death will continue among the earth's subject-inhabitants, though in a much milder degree than now.

F. That the mission of the kingdom will be to subdue all enemies, and finally death itself, by opening up the way of life to the nations, which they will enter by faith, during the thousand years, and (in reality) at their close.

G. That at the close of the thousand years there will be a general resurrection and judgment, resulting in the final extinction of the wicked, and the immortalization of those who shall have established their title to eternal life during the thousand years.

H. That the government will then be delivered up by Jesus to the Father, who will manifest Himself as the "All-in-all," sin and death having been taken out of the way, and the race completely restored to the friendship of the Deity.

2nd. The Things concerning the Name of Jesus Christ: These are defined in paragraphs 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13.

16. The Holy Spirit.—That the Holy Spirit is the out-flowing and everywhere-present power of the Father, by which He accomplishes all His will. By this He framed creation, revealed Himself to the prophets, and finally manifested Himself in a Son. By this He made known His truth through prophets and apostles, so that metonymically the truth is spirit to all in whom it dwells. By His Spirit He will raise and quicken the dead.

Part II. contains, in eighteen Articles, "*Fables to be refused*," which are current in the religious world, and of which a rejection is required on the part of all applicants

for fellowship. Each Article denies the "Fable" which forms its title.

17. The Trinity.—That God is not three, but One, out of whom are all things—even the Spirit and the Son.

18. The Eternal Sonship of Christ.—That the Son of God was not co-eternal with the Father, but is the result of the Father's manifestation in the flesh, by operation of Holy Spirit upon Mary, in the manner defined in par. 7.

19. The Third Person in the Godhead.—That the Holy Spirit is not a person, but the vehicular effluence of the Father, filling all space, and forming the medium and instrument of all the Father's operations.

20. The Immortality of the Soul.—That the immortality of the soul is a pagan fiction, subversive of the first law of the Deity's moral government, viz. that the wages of sin is death.

21. The Theory of Disembodied Existence.—That there is no existence in death, conscious or unconscious, and that the popular belief in heaven and hell is a delusion. Therefore

A. That the wicked will not suffer eternal torture, but will be engulfed in total destruction after resurrection.

B. That the righteous will not ascend to kingdoms beyond the skies at death or at any other time, but will inherit the earth for ever.

22. Supernatural Personal Devil.—That there is no such thing as a supernatural personal devil, the devil of Scripture being a personification of sin in its several phases and manifestations among men.

23. That the kingdom of God is not "the Church," or a region beyond the stars, but a system of things to be established under Christ on earth, in the Holy Land.

24. Three-Fact Gospel.—That the gospel is not the death, burial, and resurrection of Christ merely, but "the things concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ."

25. No Judgment at the Coming of Christ.—That the judgment of the saints at the tribunal of Christ, when he comes, is not a simple allotment of rewards, but a dividing of the faithful from the unfaithful, with reference to the question of life or death.

26. The First Resurrection.—That the resurrection at the appearing of Christ is not confined to the faithful, but extends

to all who have made a profession of his name, whether faithful or not.

27. Immortal Resurrection.—That those thus rising are not in a glorified state, but appear before Christ in their natural body, to have it decided whether they are worthy of being clothed upon with immortality, or deserving of a return to corruption.

28. Immortal Nations in the Millennium.—That the subject-nations of the thousand years are not immortal.

29. Judaism and Sabbatarianism.—That the law of Moses is not binding in any of its enactments, except those retained in the letter of the apostles; and the observance of Sunday as popularly enjoined is unscriptural.

30. Baby Baptism and Infant Salvation.—That baby sprinkling is an invention of man, and infant salvation a doctrine opposed to Scripture.

31. Resurrection of Heathens, Idiots, Babes, etc.—That heathens, idiots, pagans, and very young children will never see the light of resurrection, but pass away as though they had not been, the resurrection being restricted to those who are responsible to the divine law.

32. Salvation without the Gospel.—That salvation is impossible without a belief of the gospel, however moral a man's life may be.

33. Salvation without Baptism.—That under the apostolic dispensation salvation is impossible without baptism.

34. The Value of Baptism in a State of Ignorance.—That baptism is of no avail in the absence of an understanding and belief of "the things concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ."

That the foregoing facts, doctrines, and principles constitute the whole counsel of God, declared by the apostles, for enlightenment unto salvation, and form the only basis of saving faith for Jews and Gentiles in the present dispensation.

A BRIEF STATEMENT OF FAITH AND PRACTICE OF THE ASSEMBLY OF CHRISTADELPHIANS AT BALHAM, LONDON.[1]

This statement, furnished similarly in each proposition with proof references to Scripture, contains essentially the

[1] In leaflet published by the Presiding Brethren.

same type of doctrine, but omits "a list of negatives such as has been appended to some similar statements in the past, seeing that, as far as the record goes, such a list had no place in the 'good Confession' in apostolic days, and might tend, as it has done in the past, to unduly restrict scope for growth in the truth." It concentrates upon "The Unity of God," "The Second Coming of Christ," "His Reign and Kingdom on Earth," "The Promise of Immortality through Him by a Resurrection from the Dead," and "The Baptism of Believers." It includes in its text a denial only of the Trinity, of the existence of a personal devil, of universal immortality, of eternal punishment, of heaven as the scene of the future life, and of the passing away of the earth. Its twenty-five propositions are distributed in seven sections, concerning the Holy Scriptures, God, Jesus Christ, Death and Resurrection, the Coming Kingdom of God on Earth, Sin and Forgiveness, and Righteousness.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONFESSIONS IN THE INDEPENDENT OR CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES.

CONGREGATIONALISM in Britain and America, a product of the English Puritanism of Elizabeth's reign, stands related historically to Calvinism very much as the Baptist movement, whose congregational form of polity and whose free attitude to Confessions of Faith it shares.[1] Without confessional coercion, and without any reliance upon the ecclesiastical authority of high courts or assemblies, Congregationalism has grown up and flourished, like Baptist Calvinism, under the shadow and dominant influence of the Westminster Standards. It acknowledges no binding Confession. The particular or local congregation is a doctrinal law to itself, bound only by such doctrinal restrictions as may be embodied in its own constitution or charter or deed of trust. Particular congregations are bound to one another by the simple tie of fellowship, doctrinal sympathy, and affinity—a tie terminable at any time should egregious departure from type take place. Till recently, Congregationalists, like Baptists, have maintained a remarkable homogeneity in spite of their freedom—a testimony to their loyalty to the traditions not less than to the congregational charters of the body. They have steadfastly resisted all tendencies to elevate common doctrinal statements into obligatory Confessions, preferring to call them Declarations or "Plat-

[1] GENERAL LITERATURE.—The works cited will be found sufficient, WILLISTON WALKER'S *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, New York, 1893, being especially full and reliable. In Schaff, Walker, and the art. "Congregationalists" in the new Schaff-Herzog *Encycl.*, a full statement of the relevant literature will be obtained.

forms," and every temptation to form presbyterian federations with legislative and jurisdictive courts. Neither civil nor ecclesiastical authority or dignity is allowed to exercise power over a local congregation. For the rest, their history has run parallel with that of Presbyterianism, their re-adjustments of the Westminster type of doctrine proceeding on similar lines.

EARLY CONGREGATIONAL CONFESSIONS.

Robert Browne's Statement of Congregational Principles,[1] published in 1582 at Middelburg in Holland, was the pioneer declaration. It is in the form of an elaborate catechism of 185 Questions, each supplied with an answer, a counter-question and its answer, definitions of the terms employed, and an analytic division. Its doctrine is orthodox Calvinism, but Questions 35–127 develop the characteristics of Congregational polity under the doctrine of the Church. Though Browne, after years of courageous propaganda, ultimately abandoned his own cause and returned to the Church of England, the movement was long associated with his name as "Brownism." It was in Holland, where Anabaptism prepared the way for it, and in New England, that it first found a refuge.

The *London Confession of 1589*[2] was prepared for the struggling congregation in that city by Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood, its two leading members, then imprisoned for their separatist teaching and afterwards martyred. It was entitled "A True Description out of the Word of God of the Visible Church," and was printed at Dort. Less democratic than Browne's work in its view of the authority of the elders, it makes the same claim to New Testament warrant for the free election of pastors and teachers, elders, deacons, and widows, by the congrega-

[1] Walker, *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, New York, 1893, pp. 1–27, where full citations of the relevant literature are made.

[2] Walker, *op. cit.* pp. 28–40, including the text.

tion. It is silent on the system of doctrine, being in complete sympathy with the ruling Calvinism.

The *London-Amsterdam True Confession*[1] of 1596 was published to vindicate the London fugitives resident in and near Amsterdam from the odium of wilful schism and of heresy. It seems to have been the work chiefly of the gifted Henry Ainsworth. Its forty-five Articles deal with doctrine, in which they are in harmony with Continental and Anglican Calvinism; and with Church government, in which they carry further the Congregational principles of the Confession of 1589, tightening discipline through provision for the deposition and even excommunication of unworthy ministers, and through the requirement of transference certificates from one congregation to another, urging complete separation from the Established Church, and calmly contemplating the use of civil power to reform it in harmony with their principles.

CONGREGATIONAL CONFESSIONS IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

The *Points of Difference between Congregationalism and the Church of England*[2] were submitted by the same body of exiles to James I. on his accession, in 1603. Of the fourteen points the following may be quoted as representative:

1. "That Christ the Lord hath by his last Testament given to his Church, and set therein, sufficient ordinary Offices, with the maner of calling or Entrance, Works, and Maintenance, for the administration of his holy things, and for the sufficient ordinary instruction guydance and service of his Church, to the end of the world."

2. "That every particular Church hath like and full interest and power to enjoy and practise all the ordinances of Christ. . . ."

3. "That every true visible Church is a company of people called and separated from the world by the word of God, and joyned

[1] Walker, *op. cit.* pp. 41–74, incl. text and bibliog.

[2] Walker, *op. cit.* pp. 75–80, incl. text.

together by voluntary profession of the faith of Christ, in the fellowship of the Gospel. And that therefore no knowne Atheist, unbelever, Heretique, or wicked liver be received or reteined a member. . . . "

5. "That being thus joyned, every Church hath power in Christ to chuse and take unto themselves meet and sufficient persons into the Offices and functions of Pastors, Teachers, Elders, Deacons and Helpers . . . and that no Antichristian Hierarchie, or Ministerie, of Popes, Archbishops, Lord-Bishops, Suffraganes, Deanes, Archdeacons, Chauncellors, Parsons, Vicars, Priests, Dumb-ministers, nor any such like be set over the Spouse and Church of Christ. . . ."

Between 1617 and 1647, Walker[1] details a group of minor documents illustrating the spread of Congregational principles, especially in New England—the *Seven Articles of 1617*, a minimum statement, almost an abnegation, of Congregational views submitted on behalf of the English refugees in Leyden in support of their application to the Virginia Colonizing Company for a grant of land in America in which to settle; the *Mayflower Compact*, a civil covenant of the Congregational type, in 1620; the *Covenants and Creeds of Salem Church*, A.D. 1629–1665; the *Covenant of the Charlestown-Boston Church*, A.D. 1630; Hooker's *Summary of Congregational Principles*, A.D. 1645, a learned but discursive American reply to Samuel Rutherford's searching criticism of Congregationalism in his *Due Right of Presbyteries*, A.D. 1644; and the Creed-Covenant of the Church at Windsor, Connecticut, A.D. 1647.

The *Cambridge* (New England) *Platform of Church Discipline*, A.D. 1648,[2] following upon the *Tentative Conclusions* of the Cambridge Synod of 1646, is a supplement to the Westminster Confession of 1646 which the Synod, having perused and considered it "with much gladness of heart, and thankfulness to God," judged "to be very holy, orthodox, and judicious in all matters of faith," and therefore freely and fully consented thereunto "for the substance thereof." The Synod acknowledged that the

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 81–156.

[2] Walker, pp. 189–237; Schaff, *Hist.* p. 836.

sections bearing on Vocation were not passed without debate or in their stricter sense. The Westminster doctrine of Church government and discipline in chs. xxv., xxx., and xxxi. was to be replaced by the new Platform. The Synod hoped that by this "professed consent and free concurrence" with the Westminster Divines it would appear to the world that, as they were "a remnant of the people of the same nation with them," so they were "professors of the same common faith, and fellow-heirs of the same common salvation." The Platform is credited to Richard Mather, and contains seventeen substantial chapters, after a lengthy preface. It is a careful and minute application of Congregational principles to the details of the Puritan doctrine of the Church.

THE SAVOY DECLARATION.

The *Savoy Declaration*, A.D. 1658,[1] did for the English Churches what the Cambridge Platform did for the American: it has been the historical basis of their teaching. With some reluctance Cromwell had agreed to act upon the advice and request of certain influential Independents in Parliament to arrange for the publication of a Confession of Faith for the whole realm, differences of opinion being tolerated except in the cases of Popery and Prelacy. Representatives were sent by one hundred and twenty Congregational Churches in and near London, in response to a circular addressed to them by the Clerk of the Council of State, to a Conference in the Savoy Palace in London. The Conference did not meet till nearly four weeks after the Great Protector's death. It elected to prepare a new Confession, and authorized a committee of six—Drs. Goodwin, Owen, Nye, Bridge, Caryl, and Greenhill (all save Owen members of the Westminster Assembly)—to prepare the draft. Within a fortnight the work was done and unani-

[1] Walker, pp. 340–408, where the Savoy changes are indicated by black type in the text; Schaff, *Hist. of Creeds*, pp. 829–833, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 707–729.

mously accepted. It consists of a very lengthy *Preface*, descriptive of the work, deprecating coercion in the use of Confessions, which thereby became "Impositions" and "Exactions" of Faith, and urging toleration in matters non-essential among Churches that held the necessary foundations of faith and holiness; a *Declaration of Faith*, consisting of the doctrinal matter of the Westminster Confession slightly modified, and a System of Polity, or "Institution of Churches."

The "Declaration of Faith" is in thirty-two chapters, two of the Westminster Confession being omitted, as they had previously been by the Long Parliament, viz. XXX. and XXXI., "of Church Censures" and "of Synods and Councils," and one, viz. XX., being added, "of the Gospel, and of the Extent of the Grace thereof."

Ch. XXI., "of Christian Liberty and Liberty of Conscience," is slightly modified.

Ch. XXIV., "of the Civil Magistrate," is altered to exclude the civil punishment of heresy, though "blasphemy and errors subverting the faith and inevitably destroying the souls of them that receive them" are to be prevented.

Ch. XXV., "of Marriage," is shortened by omissions.

Ch. XXVI., "of the Church," is modified by omissions and additions.

The *Institution of Churches* sets forth Congregationalism in thirty propositions, providing for constitution, government, discipline, organization, and fellowship.

LATER CONGREGATIONAL CONFESSIONS IN BRITAIN AND AMERICA.

In Britain, since 1658, the following have been the chief products of Confessional activity.[1] In 1691 there were published *Nine Heads of Agreement* between Congregationalists and Presbyterians in and near London, who had been drawn together by the persecution associated with the Act of Uniformity in 1662. They are more Congregationalist than Presbyterian, anything like a

[1] Schaff, *Hist. of Creeds*, pp. 833–835, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 730–734; Walker, pp. 440–462, 542–552.

Presbyterian system of courts being an impossibility at the time. Their acceptance in England, like the union they accompanied, was short-lived, but they found favour and exerted influence in America. In 1833 appeared the *Declaration of the Congregational Union of England and Wales*, setting forth the "Faith, Church Order, and Discipline of the Congregational or Independent Dissenters." It was composed by Dr. Redford of Worcester, was unanimously adopted, after revision, by the Union, and has maintained its place as its official manifesto. It is prefaced by seven preliminary notes which disclaim for it technical or critical precision, deny the utility of creeds as bonds of union, admit the existence of differences of opinion within the Union, but claim a greater harmony than among Churches requiring subscription. Its "Principles of Religion," in twenty propositions, are a moderate popular statement of Calvinistic doctrine. Its concluding "Principles of Church Order and Discipline" are thirteen in number, and claim Divine sanction for the polity they outline.

In America, since 1648, the following documents have emerged.[1] The *Boston Declaration* of 1680, approved by the Synod of the New England Churches, is simply the Savoy Confession with the Cambridge Platform. The *Saybrook Platform*, A.D. 1708, marked the adoption by the Connecticut Churches of the Boston Declaration with the English Heads of Agreement of 1691. In 1801 the same sympathy with Presbyterians, deepened by common home-missionary problems, led to the adoption of a *Plan of Union*, in four sections, by the Connecticut Churches.

In 1865 the National Council of Congregational Churches in the United States, which met at Boston, emitted a *Declaration of Faith*, of which the first draft was prepared

[1] Schaff, *Hist. of Creeds*, pp. 835–840, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 734–737; Walker, pp. 238–582, incl. texts of all documents down to 1883; art. "Congregationalists," in Schaff-Herzog, by Morton Dexter; A. E. Dunning, *Congregationalists in America*, 1894; and, for text of 1906, *The Congregationalist*, Feb. 17, 1906.

by Drs. Joseph P. Thomson, Edward A. Lawrence, and George P. Fisher, followed by a second and a third, the third being adopted on Burial Hill, Plymouth, where the earliest meeting-house of the Pilgrim Fathers had stood. This *Burial Hill Declaration* impressively affirms the Synod's adherence to the faith and order of the Apostolic and Primitive Churches held by their fathers, and substantially as embodied in the Confessions and Platforms which the Synods of 1648 and 1680 set forth or re-affirmed. The last five paragraphs briefly summarize "the great fundamental truths in which all Christians should agree," and which should be a basis of fellowship,—God the Triune, Jesus Christ the Incarnate Word, the Holy Comforter, Sin, Atonement, Sanctification, Church, Ministry, Sacraments, Judgment to come,—state the testimony on which these doctrines rest, and close with a proffer of fellowship with all who hold them and with an avowal of missionary purpose.

The *Oberlin Declaration* of 1871 is a more matter-of-fact re-affirmation, without any doctrinal detail. In 1883, in response to long-continued demands for a Declaration which should be less superficial than those of 1865 and 1871, and more suitable both for use in private and public instruction, and for use in the trust-deeds of local churches, a body of twenty-five representative commissioners completed a Creed of twelve Articles subscribed by all but three of their number. This *Commission Creed*, which was duly authorized as a common manifesto, has found wide acceptance. Congregationalism apart, it is on the same lines as the modern Presbyterian statements. It is cast in true creed form, each article beginning "We believe." It is catholic and evangelical in its doctrine; the historic difficulties in Calvinism are passed over; the language is simple, vigorous, and appropriate; even the doctrine of the Church in Art. x. is in such terms as would commend it to others than Congregationalists. Altogether it is one of the most successful modern Declarations. It runs as follows: —

STATEMENT OF DOCTRINE, A.D. 1883.

I. We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible;

And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, who is of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made;

And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life, who is sent from the Father and the Son, and who together with the Father and Son is worshipped and glorified.

II. We believe that the providence of God, by which He executes His eternal purposes in the government of the world, is in and over all events; yet so that the freedom and responsibility of man are not impaired, and sin is the act of the creature alone.

III. We believe that man was made in the image of God, that he might know love and obey God, and enjoy Him for ever; that our first parents by disobedience fell under the righteous condemnation of God; and that all men are so alienated from God that there is no salvation from the guilt and power of sin except through God's redeeming grace.

IV. We believe that God would have all men return to Him; that to this end He has made Himself known, not only through the works of nature, the course of His providence, and the consciences of men, but also through supernatural revelations made especially to a chosen people, and above all when the fulness of time was come, through Jesus Christ, His Son.

V. We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the records of God's revelation of Himself in the work of redemption; that they were written by men under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit; that they are able to make wise unto salvation; and that they constitute the authoritative standard by which religious teaching and human conduct are to be regulated and judged.

VI. We believe that the love of God to sinful men has found its highest expression in the redemptive work of His Son; who became man, uniting his divine nature with our human nature in one person; who was tempted like other men, yet without sin; who by his humiliation, his sufferings, his death on the cross, and his resurrection, became a perfect Redeemer; whose sacrifice of himself for the sins of the world declares the righteousness of God,

and is the sole and sufficient ground of forgiveness and of reconciliation with Him.

VII. We believe that Jesus Christ, after he had risen from the dead, ascended into heaven, where as the one mediator between God and man he carries forward his work of saving men; that he sends the Holy Spirit to convict them of sin, and to lead them to repentance and faith; and that those who through renewing grace turn to righteousness, and trust in Jesus Christ as their Redeemer, receive for his sake the forgiveness of their sins, and are made the children of God.

VIII. We believe that those who are thus regenerated and justified grow in sanctified character through fellowship with Christ, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and obedience to the truth; that a holy life is the fruit and evidence of saving faith; and that the believer's hope of continuance in such a life is in the preserving grace of God.

IX. We believe that Jesus Christ came to establish among men the kingdom of God, the reign of truth and love, righteousness and peace; that to Jesus Christ, the head of His kingdom, Christians are directly responsible in faith and conduct; and that to him all have immediate access without mediatorial or priestly intervention.

X. We believe that the Church of Christ, invisible and spiritual, comprises all true believers, whose duty it is to associate themselves in churches, for the maintenance of worship, for the promotion of spiritual growth and fellowship, and for the conversion of men; that these churches, under the guidance of the Holy Scriptures and in fellowship with one another, may determine—each for itself—their organization, statements of belief, and forms of worship, may appoint and set apart their own ministers, and should co-operate in the work which Christ has committed to them for the furtherance of the gospel throughout the world.

XI. We believe in the observance of the Lord's Day, as a day of holy rest and worship; in the ministry of the Word; and in the two Sacraments, which Christ has appointed for his Church: Baptism, to be administered to believers and their children, as a sign of cleansing from sin, of union to Christ, and of the impartation of the Holy Spirit; and the Lord's Supper, as a symbol of his atoning death, a seal of its efficacy, and a means whereby he confirms and strengthens the spiritual union and communion of believers with himself.

XII. We believe in the ultimate prevalence of the kingdom of Christ over all the earth; in the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; in the resurrection of the dead; and in a final judgment, the issues of which are everlasting punishment and everlasting life.

The *Union Statement*, issued by a joint-Committee at Dayton, O., in February 1906, with a view to union between Congregationalists, Methodist Protestants, and United Brethren, bears the same character and has gained similar approval. It affirms "consent to the teaching of the Ancient Symbols of the Undivided Church, and to that substance of Christian doctrine which is common to the Creeds and Confessions which we have inherited from the past," though attention has been drawn to the significance of its omissions from the traditional system.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONFESSIONS IN THE ARMINIAN CHURCHES: METHODISM, AND THE SALVATION ARMY.

I. METHODISM.

ORIGINALLY a spiritual and ethical revival within the Church of England, Methodism grew up under the Thirty-nine Articles and never formally renounced its allegiance to them.[1] But from the first, except in Whitefield's following, it objected resolutely to the distinctively Calvinistic elements in them, and avowed its acceptance of them as in harmony with the Five Points of Arminianism.[2] From the Wesleys to William Booth, Wesleyan teachers have "abhorred" the Calvinistic doctrine of the Divine decrees as subversive of Divine justice and love, and of human freedom, responsibility, activity, and hope, though, as common-sense and empiric thinkers, it might have occurred to them as a paradox, on that view, that Whitefield and countless other preachers and teachers in the orthodox Calvinistic succession had never been conscious of any such pernicious results of their views. But if Methodism be guilty of exaggeration and misrepresentation in its conception of the signification and implications of the Calvinistic doctrine, as when it makes it teach that God passed over or damned the "rest of mankind" *irrespective*

[1] Schaff, *Hist. of Creeds*, pp. 882–900, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 807–813; Introd. to Winer's *Confessions of Christendom*, Eng. tr. pp. lxxvi–lxxviii; Works by John Wesley, Richard Watson, W. B. Pope; *Doctrines and Discipline of Meth. Episc. Church*, ed. Bishop Harris, New York, 1872; *A New History of Methodism* by W. J. Townsend and others, 2 vols., London, 1909; artt. in M'Clintock-Strong's *Cyclopædia*, a Methodist publication, and in the new Schaff-Herzog.

[2] Given above, p. 240.

of their sin, its motive is of the highest, its purpose is intensely practical, and its own phenomenal success as a spiritual force has amply vindicated it. In polity, at least, it has borrowed from Calvinism, not only in its practically presbyterian organization in Britain, but in its conception of the episcopate as a superintending presbyterate in America. Practical elasticity and adaptability characterize its polity, just as spiritual impressiveness and emotional effectiveness mark its theology. Common sense rather than abstract consistency is the principle of both, appealing peculiarly to the English mind. Not historical learning, not even conformity to Scripture, not outward continuity with the past, not intellectual perfection, is the final test of a Church and system, but practical efficacy in the supreme work of reaching the heart, curbing the passions, converting the soul, and transforming the character. Clerical privilege and pedantry must bow to the prophetic necessities of the Spirit of God and His saving work. More than any other system, save that of the Friends, with which it has not a little in common, Wesleyan Methodism enthrones the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, testing all doctrines and all work by His felt presence and power. It has thus addressed itself with peculiar success to the practical and empiric instincts of the nineteenth century, of whose religious history it has been, next to Christian missions, the outstanding phenomenon. In an age which worships power and has faith in success, it has wielded an unprecedented influence and achieved an unparalleled success. The revival of which it was the leading force has affected almost every other Church for good, it has stimulated the thought of every other system, and it has transformed the world's conception of the nature and basis of religion.

However the Methodist Churches may differ from one another, in Britain and America, in reference to organization, government, and discipline, they are at one in regard to doctrine, maintaining unaltered Wesley's

own position. They have no formally complete, distinctive Confession, but, instead, a certain relation to the Anglican Articles defined by Wesley himself, and the basis of doctrine supplied by Wesley's notes on the New Testament which rest on Bengel's admirable *Gnomon* or Commentary, and by his fifty-eight published sermons down to 1771. The basis is thus threefold.

I. METHODISM AND THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

In England, Wesley left the Articles formally undisturbed, in conformity with his scrupulous loyalty to Anglican order, contenting himself with disavowing their predestinarian and allied elements, and interpreting them in an Arminian sense. In America, however, in doctrine as in polity and orders, he felt himself less fettered. He gave the Methodist Episcopal Church, which he founded there, a recension of the Thirty-nine Articles suited to its special circumstances, and so abbreviated as to eliminate their obnoxious Calvinism and, negatively at least, to conform to his views. The *Twenty-five Articles*, as they are called, were adopted by Conference in Baltimore in 1784, with the exception of XXIII., recognizing the independence of the United States, which was not approved till 1804. They reveal Wesley's precise attitude to the Thirty-nine. He omitted the political articles applicable only to England, the strongly Augustinian articles (viz. XVII., of Predestination, as teaching unconditional election and the necessary perseverance of the elect; XIII., of Works before Justification, as alleged to be of the nature of sin), and Art. VIII., which re-affirms the three Œcumenical Creeds. Art. X., of Free-will, he retained, though it teaches, with Augustine and Calvin, man's natural inability since the Fall to do good works without the grace of God, inasmuch as it was his view that of God's free grace free-will is supernaturally restored to all men universally. From Art. II. he omitted the clauses "begotten from everlasting of the Father," and "of His substance"; from IX. the clauses which

affirm the persistence of original sin in the regenerate and so conflict with his doctrine of Christian perfection. In XVI. the words "sin after baptism" are altered to "sin after justification," to exclude the doctrine of baptismal regeneration; and in XXV., of the Sacraments, before "signs of grace" the words "sure witnesses and effectual" are omitted. But there is no positive addition of Arminian teaching to the Articles.

II. METHODISM AND ARMINIANISM.

Wesley made no secret of his entire concurrence with the five cardinal points of Arminianism. They are embodied in his discourses. Human free-will retained in some measure in spite of the Fall, as the basis of individual as distinct from racial responsibility: the voluntary self-limitation of the sovereign will of God in its relations to free agents: foreknowledge of free actions and character as the ground of Divine predestination: the universal extent of the Atonement, the resistibleness of Divine grace, and the possibility of final falling away from the regenerate and sanctified state—these are fundamental Wesleyan as well as Arminian tenets, plausible and common-sense on the face of them, raising no popular difficulties such as beset the antagonistic Calvinist definitions, and thus avoiding the tendency to morbidity, make-believe, and spiritual paralysis not always erroneously attributed to them. In reality the two systems are not diametrically opposed, if the common terms be used in a common sense; but Wesleyan thought, urged by a practical impulse, did not scruple over metaphysical difficulties whether latent in Scripture or in reason, but fastened upon the form of doctrine which appealed most directly to the heart and conscience. Thus Arminianism, which failed to maintain itself in Holland or to win a settlement in Scotland, found a home in England and among English settlers across the Atlantic. Indeed, it must be added that recent changes in the thought and standards of Calvinism have for the

most part been in the direction of a tacit compromise with Arminian doctrine, if not of actual surrender to it. But Methodism does not share the Pelagian sympathies of Arminianism. It takes a darker view of original sin as more than a disease, as complete depravity. It attributes human freedom since the Fall not to any partial survival of original freedom, but to the direct prevenient grace of the Spirit of God in the individual soul. And it lays far greater stress upon definite conversion and regeneration as a necessary subjective experience for every man.

III. THE ORIGINAL ELEMENT IN METHODISM.

The sermons bring to light three distinctive doctrines which are fundamental in the Methodist system:

(1) *The Universality of the Offer of Saving Grace.*—All men are born into an order not only of sin through Adam, but of saving grace through Christ, by whose righteousness the free gift came upon all men unto justification. They are thus held guiltless through Christ's atoning merit until personal responsibility in the years of discretion is attained. "Christ's atonement covers the deficiency of ability in the case of infants, and the deficiency of opportunity in the case of the heathen." Three dispensations embrace the whole race of men: that of the Father—the heathen and Muhammadans who know God only through nature, providence, and conscience; that of the Son—all who are born and brought up in Christian lands; and that of the Holy Spirit—those who have experienced for themselves the saving grace of the Spirit.

(2) *The Present Assurance of Salvation.*—The Spirit of God witnesses with our own spirits that we are children of grace, that we are accepted now and shall be saved hereafter *if* we persevere.

(3) *The Attainableness of Christian Perfection.*—If apostasy be always possible, Christian perfection is also constantly in prospect as the grand incentive to effort, by which is meant, not a perfection beyond the reach

either of enhancement or of loss, but thorough and all-pervading sanctification, the state in which deliberate sin is left behind, love to God is supreme, and every true faculty of human life fully enjoyed.

Calvinistic Methodism in Wales has already been treated under Calvinism,[1] and *Baptist Arminianism* under Baptist Confessions.[2]

II. THE SALVATION ARMY.

Offspring of Methodism as it is, with many marks of its parentage, the Salvation Army, founded in 1865, occupies ground of its own confessionally. In creed as in organization, it prides itself on its combination of freedom with authority and discipline, of simplicity with elasticity and practical effectiveness. Its doctrines are set forth authoritatively by the Founder and General, William Booth, in a variety of manuals prepared for children and adults, phrased in language of admirable directness and lucidity.

THE DIRECTORIES, AND ORDERS.

There is a series of graded *Directories* or Catechisms, the first for children under ten years of age, the second for those of ten to fourteen years, and a third in preparation for parents and workers. They are based on a threefold scheme: Revelation (God, Creation, the Four Last Things, Christ, the Bible), Experience (Sin, Forgiveness, the Conditions of Salvation), and Obedience (How to keep Saved, Faith, Prayer, Duty, the Army).

The *Junior Directory* has the following Introduction, which is expanded in the Senior:

1. *What is your name?*

My name is A (Christian name), and B (Surname).

2. *Who made you?*

God made me.

[1] See above, p. 285 f.. [2] See pp. 304–306.

3. *Why did He make you?*

God made me to love and serve Him here, and to live with Him in Heaven when I die.

4. *Were you made in the likeness of God?*

I was made in the likeness of God.

5. *Why are you like God?*

I am like God because I am able to know and love Him, and my soul will never die.

6. *Is your soul more important than your body?*

My soul is far more important than my body.

7. *Is it possible for you to lose your soul?*

Yes, it is possible for me to lose my soul.

8. *What do you mean by losing your soul?*

I mean that, if I am not saved by Jesus Christ, I shall be a lost soul in Hell for ever.

9. *How can you save your soul?*

I can save my soul by trusting Jesus Christ to wash away my sins, and by living a good life.

10. *Can children really trust in Jesus and be good?*

Children can really trust in Jesus and be good, for He said, "Suffer little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven."

11. *Why should you learn this Directory?*

I should learn this Directory that I may know how to be a good Soldier in the Army, and to go to Heaven when I die.

The *Junior Directory* closes with the Lord's Prayer, the Eight Blessings of Jesus, the Ten Precious Graces—Faith, Love, Hope, Kindness, Humility, Truthfulness, Obedience, Purity, Self-denial, Perseverance,—and an explanation of the Three Symbols of the Army—the Flag, the Crest, and the Salute.

The *Senior Directory*, after expounding the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, closes with two short Chapters discussing the divine authority of the Army, which was called into existence by God and receives the whole Bible as His word and is governed after a plan laid down by Him, and whose officers are "as able to impart spiritual blessings and guidance as any priest, clergyman, or other minister of religion," and the Army Rules. The rules are as precisely formulated as the prescriptions of Buddhism. They are nine in all, each with its subdivisions.

I. To keep the Salvation Soldier's Covenants :

1. to live in a state of Salvation.
2. to be true to the Army.
3. to renounce sinful pleasures, evil companions, and worldly dress.
4. to abstain from intoxicating liquors.
5. to refrain from the use of bad, impure, or foolish speaking.
6. to be true in all things, and to speak the truth always.
7. to be kind and patient towards relatives, and kind to all the creatures God has made.
8. to give and beg as far as may be possible to support the Army.
9. to obey the orders of his Officers.
10. to labour for the salvation of others.

II. To enjoy the Six Great Privileges :

1. reading the Bible.
2. private prayer.
3. attendance at Army meetings.
4. communion with godly friends.
5. the opportunity to fight for souls.
6. reading the Army literature.

III. To fight against the Seven Common Evils :

1. evil thoughts.
2. unprofitable reading.
3. personal impurity.
4. worldly companions.
5. gay clothing.
6. intoxicating drink.
7. besetting sins.

IV. To exercise the Ten Precious Graces.

V. To practise the Threefold Affection :

1. towards dear friends, relations, and comrades who love us.
2. towards enemies, if we have any, who hate us.
3. towards neighbours, that is, all the world, for whom our Saviour died.

VI. To observe the Five Army Ordinances:
1. the dedication of children to God and the Army.
2. the Mercy Seat.
3. enrolment under the Army Flag.
4. commissioning of Officers.
5. marriage according to Army rules.

VII. To use the Three Army Symbols.

VIII. To proclaim the Seven Salvation Truths.
1. the existence of a holy, almighty, and benevolent God.
2. the evils of sin as an awful offence against God and man.
3. the punishment of sin as certain, just, and everlasting.
4. the Salvation provided for all men by the sacrifice of Jesus Christ upon the Cross, and wrought in the hearts of those who believe by the Holy Ghost.
5. the offer of a present, free, and full Salvation to all men.
6. the responsibility of every Salvationist to use all he possesses to spread this Salvation.
7. the glorious and eternal rewards that God will bestow on every faithful Soldier of the Cross.

IX. To live according to the Ten Daily Rules.

Orders and Regulations for Soldiers of the Salvation Army is a little treatise discussing in twelve chapters: Salvation, How to keep Religion, Character, the Care of the Body, Improvement of the Mind, Home Life, in the World, the Army, Fighting, Giving and Collecting Money, Personal Dealing, Sickness, and Bereavement.

THE DOCTRINES.

The Doctrines of the Salvation Army, a catechetical manual "prepared for the use of Cadets in training for officership," contains in its latest form [1] twenty-nine chapters which discuss with incisive vigour, if often narrowly, the Doctrines (a Creed), God, Jesus Christ is God, How we became Sinners, Redemption, the Extent of the Atonement, the Finished Work of Christ, Election, the Holy Ghost, the Conditions of Salvation, the Forgiveness of Sins, Conversion, the Two Natures, Assurance, Sanctification (seven chapters,—What it is—Can it be attained?

[1] Ninth ed., 1908.

—Can be attained—The Conditions—Consecration—Objections—The Fruits), Backsliding, Final Perseverance, Death and After, Hell, the Bible, Getting Men Saved, Woman's Right to Preach, the Government of the Army. In this work, whose brevity and comprehensiveness perhaps render a certain unfairness to other types of doctrine unavoidable, the section on election and its alleged basis in Scripture is a deliberate and express onslaught upon Calvinism, which is represented as teaching "that God has from all eternity, of His own good pleasure, *and without any regard to their conduct*, reprobated or left the remainder of mankind to everlasting damnation," whereas Calvinists have always taught that it is for sin inherited and committed that men are condemned. It will also be observed that there is no doctrine of the Sacraments, neither Baptism nor the Lord's Supper having any place in the Army. The following are illustrative passages, many of them representative of the parent Methodism:

Sect. 2, Q. 6. *How do you describe God?*

As an almighty, eternal, independent, and self-existent Being, who sees and knows everything, and is perfectly wise, good, holy, just, and true.

Q. 10. *Can you give any Scripture proof for this doctrine of the Trinity?*

Yes, the Bible is full of it.

The same words are used to declare that Jesus Christ is God, and that the Holy Spirit is God, as are used to declare that the Father is God.

The same names and titles are given to each, the same mighty works are said to be done by each.

And the same worship is given and commanded to be given to the Son and to the Holy Ghost that is given and commanded to be given to the Father.

Sect. 3, Q. 10. *Have you any other argument for this great truth [of the Divinity of Jesus Christ] outside the Bible?*

Yes; I argue from my own feelings of what Jesus Christ is to me as a Saviour that He is Divine, and everyway worthy of my supremest love and worship and service.

Sect. 4, Q. 7. *Was not the sin which Adam committed a very awful one?*

Yes; there was in it the seed of all other sins.

There was the sin of *unbelief*. They disbelieved God, and believed the Devil's lie.

There was the sin of *covetousness*. God had given them the free use of all the trees except one, and they coveted that.

There was the sin of *ingratitude*. Though they had received so much from God, they were discontented and ungrateful.

There was the sin of *pride*. They aspired to be like God, and independent of Him.

There was the sin of *rebellion* against God's authority. Though they had a plain command uttered by the voice of God Himself, they dared to resist Him, and do that which He directly said they should not do.

Sect. 5, Q. 5. *What did the Saviour do for us?*

He made known the Father's *will* in His teaching.

He set forth a perfect *example* for our own imitation in His life.

He made an *atonement* for our sins in His death.

Q. 6. *What is the meaning of the word "atonement"?*

The word means "*at-one-ment*," and it signifies the way which Jesus Christ opened, in order that God and man, now *separated* by sin, may be *reunited* and *made one* again.

Q. 7. *Can you describe more plainly in what way we are benefited by the death of Christ?*

Well, you see the Father pitied us when He saw us cursed and condemned to everlasting death, and wanted very much to *forgive* and make us happy again, but then He had to consider *the welfare* of others, and the honour of the law we had broken. If He had forgiven us without the sacrifice of His Son, the inhabitants of other worlds, and the angels of Heaven, might have said: "Oh, it does not matter about breaking His laws; you have only to say you are sorry, and He will make things right." And so the holy laws of God would have been thought nothing of; and, to meet this difficulty, Jesus Christ, though the only Son of the Father, came, and suffered as a sacrifice for us, and so magnified the importance of the law we had broken, and, at the same time, made a way for our deliverance from its penalty.

Q. 8. *Is not the death of Christ sometimes described as a "satisfaction" to Divine justice?*

Yes. The death of Christ satisfied Divine justice, inasmuch as—

Our sins deserved death.

Christ voluntarily died in our place.

In virtue of His dignity as God, and His purity as Man, His sacrifice was possessed of infinite merit, and fully met the claims of the law, and justified God in remitting the punishment, and in forgiving all who repent and believe on Him.

Sect. 6, Q. 1. *Do the benefits of the atoning work of Christ extend to all men?*

Yes; they were obtained, and are intended for the whole world; that is, for all who have lived in the past, for all who live now, and for all who will live hereafter.

Q. 2. *How do you prove that Christ died for all men?*

From what we know of the benevolent character of God, we should expect that He would include the whole race in the merciful undertaking. It would appear to us absolute cruelty to leave any out.

There is not a passage in the Bible that says He did not die for all men.

There are many passages in the Bible that say He did die for all.

The *Bible* also says that Christ died for "the world," the "whole world."

Sect. 8, Q. 5. *Are there not some passages in the Bible upon which Calvinists specially rely which have the appearance of teaching this doctrine [of Election]?*

Yes; there are some passages in the Scriptures that seem to lean toward these views, but it is only because they have not been properly translated, or because they are not rightly understood. No passage or passages can be supposed to have a meaning opposed to the general signification of the entire book, and the Bible, taken as a whole, is most emphatically against the doctrines of Calvinism.

Q. 21. *What is one of the chief causes of the misunderstanding of these and similar texts?*

These and similar passages are made to refer to *individuals*, rather than, as intended, to *character*. God is no respecter of *persons*, but He is a respecter of *character*.

The election of the Bible simply signifies the selection of persons possessing a certain character to enjoy particular blessings or inherit a particular destiny, for which their characters have fitted and prepared them. For instance:

God has, from all eternity, predestinated or predetermined—

That confessing and forsaking sinners shall obtain mercy.

That believers in Jesus Christ shall be saved.

That rejecters of Jesus Christ shall perish.

That the saints shall enjoy His favour.

That those who endure to the end shall be saved.

Q. 22. *Has not God the power to prevent that conduct on the part of men which He does not approve? In other words, could not God prevent sin?*

So far as we can see, God could not have made it impossible for man to sin, and yet have made him absolutely a free agent. And if he had not been a free agent, the great purpose of God in creating him would have been defeated, namely, he would not have been made in His own image.

Q. 23. *But if God foresaw that Adam would fall, and thereby bring all this sin and misery into the world, why did He create him? or, having done so, why did He not destroy him immediately after his transgression?*

Because, at the same time, God equally foresaw that, on the whole, a greater amount of happiness would result to the universe by allowing him to live. Indeed, but for this, God, as a benevolent Being, would have been under obligation to have destroyed him.

Sect. 9, Q. 14. *But how about the heathen, who have never heard the Gospel?*

We leave them to the mercy of God; it is sufficient for us to know that those who follow the light which God gives them, will, in virtue of the sacrifice of Christ, be saved.

Q. 15. *Are the heathen as favourably circumstanced for obtaining mercy as those who have the Gospel?*

Certainly not. Therefore it is our duty to get at them as quickly as possible.

Sect. 10. Q. 14. *What is the meaning of the passage "faith is counted," or "imputed for righteousness"?*

These expressions simply mean, that being without any righteousness in which to appear before God, He accepts our faith in Christ instead; that is, that as God treated Christ as the sinner for our sakes, so He treats those who believe on Him as though they were righteous for His sake.

Q. 15. *Is there not another higher meaning than this?*

Yes. These and kindred passages also teach that faith is counted

for righteousness, because it is God's means of making us actually righteous. In this sense we are justified—that is, *made just by faith.*

Sect. 14, Q. 3. *But* HOW *does a man know that he is saved?*

He remembers the time when and the place where God saved him.

He knows he lives a converted life—walks, talks, prays, fights, loves, and hates like a saved man. "He hates the things that before he loved, and loves the things that before he hated," and therefore knows he is a new creature; and, knowing that nothing short of the power of God could effect this change, he concludes that he has been converted.

But further and more convincing still to him, *he feels* that he is saved.

If you were to ask him how he knew that he had *natural life,* he might say,—

I can perform such acts as only a *living* man can perform; and *I feel I am alive.*

Just so here. Not only can he *do* such works as only a saved man can, but he *feels* that he is alive—he *knows* it. This is the shortest and most convincing proof to him.

Sect. 15, Q. 10. *What is Entire Sanctification?*

Entire Sanctification supposes *complete deliverance.* Sin is *destroyed* out of the soul, and all the powers, faculties, possessions, and influences of the soul are given up to the service and glory of God.

Q. 11. *Then a man in the three conditions named stands in three distinct relationships to Sin?*

Yes—that is to say—

He can be *under sin.* "Carnal, sold under sin."—Rom. vii. 14.

He can be *over sin.* "Sin shall not have dominion."—Rom. vi. 14.

He can be *without sin.* "Freed from sin."—Rom. vi. 7.

Q. 15. *Is it possible to attain to Sinless Perfection in this life?*

No! An *imperfect* creature cannot *perfectly* obey a *perfect law,* and man, being *imperfect* both in *body* and in *mind,* is plainly unable to keep the *perfect* law of God.

Q. 20. *Does Sanctification mean that we are saved from* MISTAKES *in judgment?*

No! That would be making us *infallible.* Still, sanctified souls are promised, and do enjoy, the direct guidance of the Holy

Spirit: *they acknowledge Him in all their ways, and He directs their paths.*

Sect. 19, Q. 7. *Then a true Consecration, or Surrender, has in it the nature of a Sacrifice?*

Decidedly so. It is *a real sacrifice.* It is the presentation or giving away of all we have to God; . . . and our taking simply the place of servants, to receive back again just what He chooses. This, it will be perceived, if a reality, is no *easy* task, and can only be done in the might of the Holy Ghost; but, when it is done, when all is laid on the altar—body, soul, spirit, goods, reputation, *all, all, all*—then the fire descends, and burns up all the dross and defilement, and fills the soul with burning zeal and love and power.

Q. 8. *Is not true Consecration something in common with* CRUCIFIXION?

Yes, undoubtedly, it is a real crucifixion. Crucifixion was an ignominious, painful death; and consecration means dying to all those pleasures and gratifications which flow from the undue *love of self*, the *admiration of the world*, the *ownership of goods*, and the *inordinate love of kindred*, and *friends*, which go together to make up the life and joy of the natural man. To do this is always a painful task, and yet we *must* be *crucified with Christ if we are to live with Him.*

Sect. 25, Q. 6. *What objections have you to this doctrine* [*of restoration*]*?*

It is in direct opposition to the Bible, which declares "All manner of blasphemy and sin against the Son of man shall be forgiven, but whoso blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, *neither in this world nor in the world to come.*"

It makes the torments of hell to be more efficacious in saving and purifying sinners than the blood of Christ and the strivings of the Holy Spirit, and is therefore in direct opposition to the Saviour's words, when He said, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead."—Luke xvi. 31.

Sect. 26, Q. 2. *Explain what you mean when you say that the Bible is the Word of God.*

We mean that God has caused His mind on the subject of our *deliverance*, *duty*, and *destiny* to be written and preserved in this volume, so that this book really contains the statement of His judg-

ment and will concerning mankind, and is, therefore, the Word of God, or the revelation of His mind on the subject.

Q. 3. *But how does the Bible reveal the mind of God?*

Because it contains—

i. A large number of messages sent directly by God to men, in bygone times, through the medium of the prophets and apostles, and, indirectly, through them to *us* and *all* whom they may concern.

ii. The histories, biographies, and facts of the Bible reveal exactly how God feels to people in similar circumstances, and are, therefore, a revelation of the mind of God.

iii. This is specially true of the life, death, and teaching of Jesus Christ.

iv. The Bible is full of God's thoughts about all the possible conditions of man in time and eternity.

v. Because it was written directly under the direction or inspection of God's Spirit.

Q. 4. *In what way did this direction or inspiration enable these men to write the Bible?*

The Holy Spirit not only preserved these holy men from *mistake*, and enabled them to write the *exact truth* concerning the facts they record, but also enabled them to *communicate* the *mind* and *will* of God to us.

Q. 6. *Is the knowledge and belief of the words of the Bible taken alone sufficient for a man's salvation?*

Oh dear, no! The Bible is but a means to an end. It is simply God's message to men, telling them that if they *seek*, *trust*, and *obey* Him they shall be saved, sanctified, and glorified.

Q. 8. *Do not some people set a false value on the Bible?*

Yes, some *undervalue* it, and, in consequence, neglect to *read* and be *governed* by its teaching; while others *overestimate* it by regarding it as the *only* way in which God speaks to man.

Q. 9. *Does God communicate His will to men in any other way than through the written Word?*

Yes. He speaks *directly* to the heart by *His Spirit*, and by *His Spirit* also *through one* man *to another.*

Sect. 27, Q. 1. *What is the ordinary condition of Sinners when you meet with them?*

Preoccupied: that is—

Taken up with the things of the world,

Rebels against God, and—

Condemned to everlasting death.

Q. 2. *What is your business with them?*

To secure their attention.

To persuade them to submit to God, and then—

To accept pardon through the blood.

Q. 10. *And what will you do with your convert when you have got him?*

Having made him into a Saint, now make him into a Soldier. That is, let him or her—

Sign the pledge.

Testify at once to the blessing he has found.

Take his name and address for the Army.

Have him at the open-air the next night, with a badge on.

Watch over and care for him as if he were your *own*, and as if you will have to give an account of him at the last day, *which you will most certainly have to do.*

Sect. 28, Q. 1. *Is the employment of Women to preach contrary to the express teaching of Scripture?*

MOST DECIDEDLY NOT. It is true that there is one solitary passage in Paul's writings which at first seems to favour such prohibition, namely, 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35. But, rightly understood, this passage simply means that he, the Apostle, thought it a shame for a woman to take any part in the debates which were common in Jewish assemblies at that time, and also in the early churches (see Acts xviii. 4–6, xvii. 1, 4, 17, xv. 5–7), and which are not uncommon now in meetings where the claims of Jesus Christ to be the Messiah are discussed. He thought it better that, rather than she should ask any questions there, or take any part in these unseemly debates, she should ask her husband for the desired information at home; but the Holy Ghost never intended the Apostle in this passage, or in any other, to prohibit preaching and testifying for Christ:

i. Seeing that in the eleventh chapter of the same Epistle, the Apostle lays down the exact dress regulation for women when they do preach.

ii. That under the Old Dispensation some of the most eminent preachers and leaders of His people were women. They were allowed to be even Generals then (Judges iv. 4, 10, 11; 2 Kings xxii. 14–20).

iii. That the first Officers He commissioned to carry the message of His resurrection were women (Matt. xxviii. 9, 10).

iv. That the same baptism of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost was given to women, and the Apostle Peter confirmed their Divine right to preach by quoting the prophecies of Joel respecting them (Acts ii. 16, 18).

v. That they were female "helpers," "yokefellows," "labourers," with the Apostles in the early churches, who preached the Gospel (Phil. iv. 3; Rom. xvi. 3, 12).

vi. Philip, the evangelist, had four daughters, virgins, that did prophesy (or preach) (Acts xxi. 8, 9).

vii. Multitudes of women since then, in all lands, have been commissioned by the Holy Ghost to preach the Gospel and lead His people, which commission they have discharged with overwhelming success.

viii. The Holy Spirit in Gal. iii. 28 states that there is neither male nor female, but that all are one in Christ Jesus, thereby affirming that, in the privileges, duties, and responsibilities of Christ's Kingdom, all differences on account of sex are abolished.

Sect. 29, Qns. 1–9. *What is the system of Government in the Army?* etc.

It most nearly resembles a military system. Without any intention of imitation on the part of its leaders, in the first instance, the Army government has come to be like that form of human government which has been proved to be the best adapted for preserving order and making aggression. It is an Army, and therefore it is governed as an Army.

. . . No religious organization ever existed on the face of the earth which combined to so large an extent the two qualities of strength and freedom.

. . . To rise in The Army, a Soldier or an Officer has only to prove himself proportionately good and capable. . . .

. . . The New Testament does not lay down any precise pattern for the government of the Kingdom of Christ on the earth. . . . One denomination argues for one thing, and another for something else.

. . . The Army has been guided by the Bible. For, though a model government was not originated by God, and made binding upon His people through all succeeding ages, He has caused certain great principles to be plainly described in the Bible, as fundamental to every form of government which has His approbation; and the government of the Army is in perfect harmony with these principles.

. . . It actually presents in its main features a strong resemblance to the government of the Jewish Church and nation, which we know were originated and approved by God Himself.

. . . It is simple. Everybody understands it. . . .

It is powerful. If several persons wish to do a particular work they must pull together, and it is impossible for them to pull together unless they have rules of action to guide them and certain leaders to obey.

. . . It secures unity and harmony. Where measures and methods are discussed and debated by those who have to carry them out, the result is always delay and often disagreement, and therefore weakness and defeat.

. . . It is like the government of the family, where the father is the head and his directions are the laws. This plan is not only of God's making, but it has His special endorsement in His Word, which says: "Honour thy father and thy mother, which is the first commandment with promise."

It is like the plans which God used for the Israelites at different times. For instance, Moses was the General of God's Army in his day; and later, David and Solomon ruled in much the same way. The government of the early Christian Churches was nearly the same, for it is very probable that Paul was in *fact*, if not in *name*, the General of the Salvation Army of his time, exercising a very similar authority over the churches or societies established by him to that exercised by the head of The Salvation Army now.

THE ARTICLES OF WAR.

Two documents embedded in the manuals mentioned stand out as having symbolic authority: the "Articles of War," A.D. 1878, in the *Orders and Regulations*,[1] and the Creed, A.D. 1872, which forms the first chapter, and the Answer to the first Question, in *The Doctrines of the Salvation Army*.[2]

The Articles of War are sixteen in number, eight doctrinal affirmations of personal belief, and eight solemn vows of personal conduct. They are as follows:

1. "Having received with all my heart the salvation offered to me by the tender mercy of Jehovah, I do here and now publicly acknowledge God to be my Father and King, Jesus Christ to be my Saviour, and the Holy Spirit to be my Guide, Comforter, and

[1] Ch. ix. § 3. [2] Ninth ed., 1908; not in the earliest editions.

Strength; and that I will, by His help, love, serve, worship, and obey this glorious God through all time and through all eternity."

2. "Believing solemnly that the Salvation Army has been raised up by God, and is sustained and directed by Him, I do hereby declare my full determination, by God's help, to be a true soldier of the Army till I die."

3. "I am thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Army's teaching."

4. "I believe that repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and conversion by the Holy Spirit, are necessary to salvation, and that all men may be saved."

5. "I believe that we are saved by grace, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and he that believeth hath the witness of it in himself. I have got it. Thank God!"

6. "I believe that the Scriptures were given by inspiration of God, and that they teach that not only does continuance in the favour of God depend upon increased faith in and obedience to Christ, but that it is possible for those who have been truly converted to fall away and be eternally lost."

7. "I believe that it is the privilege of all God's people to be 'wholly sanctified,' and that 'their whole spirit and soul and body' may 'be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.' That is to say, I believe that after conversion there remain in the heart of the believer inclinations to evil, or roots of bitterness, which, unless overpowered by Divine grace, produce actual sin; but these evil tendencies can be entirely taken away by the Spirit of God; and the whole heart, thus cleansed from anything contrary to the will of God, or entirely sanctified, will then produce the fruit of the Spirit only. And I believe that persons thus entirely sanctified may, by the power of God, be kept unblamable and unreprovable before Him."

8. "I believe in the immortality of the soul; in the resurrection of the body; in the general judgment at the end of the world; in the eternal happiness of the righteous; and in the everlasting punishment of the wicked."

Art. 9 declares renunciation of the world for service in Christ's Army, cost what it may.

Art. 10 promises abstinence from intoxicants and narcotics save when medically prescribed; 11, from profanity and obscenity; 12, from dishonesty, unfairness, and deceit; 13, from oppressive,

cruel, or cowardly treatment of those who are in one's power or are dependent on one.

Art. 14 promises the spending of time, strength, money, and influence for the War, and the endeavour to induce one's friends and others to do the same; and 15, obedience to the lawful orders of one's Officers.

Art. 16 declares: "I do here and now call upon all present to witness that I enter into this undertaking, and sign these Articles of War of my own free will, feeling that the love of Christ, who died to save me, requires from me this devotion of my life to His service for the salvation of the whole world, and therefore wish now to be enrolled as a soldier of the Salvation Army."

THE PRINCIPAL DOCTRINES.

The Principal Doctrines are:

1. "We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments were given by the inspiration of God, and that they only constitute the Divine rule of Christian faith and practice."

2. "We believe that there is only one God, who is infinitely perfect, the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of all things."

3. "We believe that there are three persons in the Godhead—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost—undivided in essence, coequal in power and glory, and the only proper object of religious worship."

4. "We believe that in the person of Jesus Christ the Divine and human natures are united, so that He is truly and properly God, and truly and properly man."

5. "We believe that our first parents were created in a state of innocence, but by their disobedience they lost their purity and happiness; and that, in consequence of their fall, all men have become sinners, totally depraved, and as such are justly exposed to the wrath of God."

6. "We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ has, by His suffering and death, made an atonement for the whole world, so that whosoever will may be saved."

7. "We believe that repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit, are necessary to salvation."

8. "We believe that we are justified by grace, through faith in

our Lord Jesus Christ, and he that believeth hath the witness in himself."

9. "We believe that the Scriptures teach that not only does continuance in the favour of God depend upon continued faith in and obedience to Christ, but that it is possible for those who have been truly converted to fall away and be eternally lost."

10. "We believe that it is the privilege of all believers to be 'wholly sanctified,' etc. (as 'Articles of War,' no. 7)."

11. "We believe in the immortality of the soul, etc. (as *ib.* no. 8)."

From these two Creeds, the Fighting and the Teaching Faith of the Army, which to some slight extent supplement one another, the doctrinal basis of the Army in a Methodist Arminianism is evident. For the militant mission on which it has set out it has reduced its orthodox Wesleyanism to the smallest possible compass. Even in doctrine its impedimenta must go into the smallest of knapsacks, but in its essentials the body of Œcumenical doctrine on God, Christ, the Spirit, of evangelical doctrine on Scripture, on the saving work of Christ, and the life to come, of Arminian doctrine on the extent of the Atonement, and of Methodist doctrine on sin, conversion, assurance, the universality of grace, and possible perfection, is included in the bundle. The metaphysics of doctrine, whether suggested by Scripture or not, is left alone. Common sense and immediate emotional power are the criteria of the truth found in Scripture which is essential for the campaign against sin. For scholarship and afterthought there is no place or time. No room is found even for those most compact of Christian treasures, the two great Sacraments, which are "not essential to salvation," which have been occasions of continual division and endless controversy, and whose efficacy, it is claimed, can better be secured by signing the Articles of War, by wearing uniform and bearing testimony, and by dedicatory solemnities for children or for adults.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONFESSIONS IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, OR QUAKERS.

THE Confessional attitude of the Quakers[1] is in evident affinity with that of Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Salvationists, at many points; but it represents a more radical breach with Christian convention. They renounce all external authority in matters spiritual, the letter of Scripture not less than subordinate standards, in favour of the direct and inward guidance of the illuminant Spirit of God, the Inner Light. Ceremonies and sacraments, traditions and conventions, organizations and official teachers, are set aside. Yet history repeated itself in their experience, apologetic statements of their teaching being necessitated by popular caricature and theological misrepresentation. These often took the form of condensed summaries, catechetical or propositional in structure. Among those enumerated by Thomas Evans in his *Exposition of the Faith of the Religious Society of Friends*, are a *Confession and Profession of Faith in God* by Richard Farnsworth, A.D. 1658, and similar statements by George Fox the younger, A.D. 1659 and 1661, by John Crook in 1662, by William Smith in 1664, by William Penn in 1668, by Whitehead and Penn in 1671, by Penn and others in 1698, and by George Fox, the founder himself, in 1671, 1675, and 1682.

[1] Schaff, *Hist. of Creeds*, pp. 859–873, *Evang. Prot. Creeds*, pp. 789–798; R. Barclay's Works; Evans, *Exposition of the Faith of the Religious Society of Friends*, Philadelphia, 1828, and later reprints; artt. in various Encyclopædias.

ROBERT BARCLAY'S FIFTEEN THESES.

The nearest approach to an authoritative Confession is supplied by the works of Robert Barclay, the proprietor of Ury, in Kincardineshire, Scotland, the theologian of the movement, and an untiring propagator of its doctrine. He wrote a *Catechism* in 1673, the answers consisting of judiciously selected passages of Scripture, and the questions containing a good deal of polemical and didactic matter, a brief *Confession of Faith* of twenty-three Articles in Scriptural language being added at the close. In 1675 appeared his *magnum opus*, the *Apology*, whose central *Fifteen Theses* have obtained a wide independent circulation as a reliable statement of Quaker principles. The Theses are addressed or dedicated "to the Clergy, of what sort soever, unto whose hands these may come; but more particularly to the Doctors, Professors, and Students of Divinity in the Universities and Schools of Great Britain, whether Prelatical, Presbyterian, or any other," to whom the Author "wisheth unfeigned repentance, unto the acknowledgment of the Truth," with the uncompromising and not very conciliatory remark upon their great learning: "Your school divinity, which taketh up almost a man's whole lifetime to learn, brings not a whit nearer to God, neither makes any man less wicked, or more righteous, than he was. Therefore hath God laid aside the wise and learned, and the disputers of this world; and hath chosen a few despicable and unlearned instruments, as to letter-learning, as he did fishermen of old, to publish his pure and naked truth, and to free it of those mists and fogs wherewith the clergy hath clouded it that the people might admire and maintain them."

Proposition 1. "*Concerning the true Foundation of Knowledge*," affirms it to be the knowledge of God.

2. "*Concerning Immediate Revelation*," declares the "testimony of the Spirit of God" to be in all generations the true revelation: Divine inward revelations neither do nor can contradict Scripture

or Reason, but are not to be subjected to either as to a higher authority or standard.

3. "*Concerning the Scriptures,*" describes them as a record of historical fact and of prophetic truth and principles, as only a declaration of the fountain, not the fountain itself; "nevertheless as that which giveth a true and faithful testimony of the first foundation, they are and may be esteemed a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit . . . by the inward testimony of the Spirit we do alone truly know them."

4. "*Concerning the Condition of Man in the Fall,*" affirms the utterly "fallen, degenerate, and dead" condition of all Adam's posterity, deprived of the sensation of the inward testimony or seed of God, and their inability to know anything aright unless "united to the Divine Light"; yet the evil seed is not imputed to infants till by transgression they actually join themselves therewith.

5. and 6. "*Concerning the Universal Redemption by Christ, and also the Saving and Spiritual Light, wherewith every man is enlightened,*" treat of Christ, the Son of God, sent in His infinite love and universal purpose of Redemption, as the Light that enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world, a light as universal as the seed of sin, being the purchase of His death who tasted death for every man; all men, heathen or infant, receive that benefit and inward Light which is not the mere light of Nature, even though they are without knowledge of the outward history of Christ's life, "which knowledge we willingly confess to be very profitable and comfortable, but not absolutely needful unto such, from whom God himself hath withheld it; yet they may be made partakers of the mystery of his death if they suffer his seed and light—enlightening their hearts—to take place."

7. "*Concerning Justification,*" states that those who do not resist this light have produced in them "a spiritual birth bringing forth holiness," "by which holy birth, to wit, Jesus Christ formed within us, and working his works in us, as we are sanctified so we are justified in the sight of God."

8. "*Concerning Perfection,*" affirms that in the regenerate "the body of death and sin comes to be crucified and removed, and their hearts united and subjected unto the truth, so as not to obey any suggestion of the evil one, but to be free from actual sinning . . . and in that respect perfect; yet doth this perfection still admit of a growth; and there remaineth a possibility of sinning." . . .

9. "*Concerning Perseverance, and the Possibility of Falling from Grace,*" affirms that Divine grace resisted becomes man's condemna-

tion; even when it has been accepted, shipwreck may be made of faith; those who have "tasted of the heavenly gift and been made partakers of the Holy Ghost" may fall away; yet others may in this life attain such an increase and stability in the truth as to be beyond the reach of total apostasy.

10. "*Concerning the Ministry*," affirms that it is this gift or light that constitutes a minister or pastor, not any human commission or literature; without it a ministry is deception: it is to be exercised without hire or bargaining, yet "if God hath called any from their employments . . . it may be lawful for such, according to the liberty which they feel given them in the Lord, to receive such temporals —to wit, what may be needful to them for meat and clothing—as are freely given them by those to whom they have communicated spirituals."

11. "*Concerning Worship*," declares that "all true and acceptable worship to God is offered in the inward and immediate moving and drawing of his own Spirit, which is neither limited to places, times, nor persons: . . . all other worship then, both praises, prayers, and preachings, which man sets about in his own will and at his own appointment, which he can both begin and end at his pleasure, do or leave undone, as himself sees meet, whether they be a prescribed form, as a liturgy, or prayers conceived extemporarily, by the natural strength and faculty of the mind, they are all but superstitions, will-worship, and abominable idolatry in the sight of God."

12. "*Concerning Baptism*," states that it is "not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ": it is "a pure and spiritual thing, to wit, the baptism of the Spirit and Fire, by which we are buried with him, that being washed and purged from our sins we may walk in newness of life": the baptism of infants "is a mere human tradition for which neither precept nor practice is to be found in all the Scripture."

13. "*Concerning the Communion, or Participation of the Body and Blood of Christ*," affirms it also to be spiritual and symbolic.

14. "*Concerning the Power of the Civil Magistrate, in matters purely religious, and pertaining to the conscience*," affirms God's sole lordship over the conscience: "all killing, banishing, fining, imprisoning . . . which men are afflicted with, for the alone exercise of their conscience, or difference in worship or opinion, proceedeth from the spirit of Cain, the murderer, and is contrary to the truth;

provided always that no man, under the pretence of conscience, prejudice his neighbour in life or estate, or do anything destructive to, or inconsistent with, human society.

15. "*Concerning Salutations and Recreations*, etc.," declares that, since "the chief of all religion is to redeem man from the spirit and vain conversation of this world," "therefore all the vain customs and habits thereof, both in word and deed, are to be rejected . . . such as the taking off the hat to a man, the bowings and cringings of the body, and such other salutations of that kind, with all the foolish and superstitious formalities attending them, . . . as also the unprofitable plays, frivolous recreations, sportings and gamings, which are invented to pass away the precious time, and divert the mind from the witness of God in the heart."

Quakerism is thus a protest against ecclesiasticism, sacramentarianism, biblicism, sacerdotalism, traditionalism, and rationalism alike, a rigorous and consistent reaction against every element of dangerous formalism and literalism in Christianity; spiritual to the core, mystic and intuitional, individualistic. It subordinates, to the point of sacrifice, the letter to the spirit, the form or symbol to the substance. It assumes a spiritual advancement or education possessed only by the few, and underestimates the use of letter and symbol because of their abuse. If "their oddities in dress and habits are the shadows of virtues,"[1] their idiosyncrasies in doctrine are at worst the exaggeration of truths, thought-compelling, impressive, and searching distillations of Scripture teaching and of sanctified common sense. They had their anticipators in this or that peculiarity of their life and teaching, though they are not indebted to them. They have, beyond question, prepared the way for much that is characteristic in Methodism and Salvationism, particularly. They represent Puritanism puritanized, a sublimate of prophetic Christianity, a spiritual outgrowth from a highly developed type of popular religion. More than is generally appreciated, their conceptions of Scripture, the Sacraments, Spiritual Liberty, the Inward Light, the

[1] Schaff, *Hist. of Creeds*, p. 866.

Indwelling Christ, the Essence of Worship and of Ministry, and the Meaning of Justification, have led the way to views now widely entertained by the most thoughtful Christians in all the Churches and outside them. What Mysticism has been in general Religion, or Quietism in Roman Catholicism, Quakerism has been in Protestantism. Its very exaggerations and crudities were deliberate—arresting symbols and picturesque advertisements of its essential message. It has given silence a place in worship, and it has exercised the universal conscience by its socratic demand for perfect sincerity and consistency. If it can be the religion only of a few, the world may be grateful to have contained those few. If it has given no criterion to distinguish the true from spurious movings of the Spirit, and lends itself to subtle or crude individualisms and egotistic whims and conventional make-believes peculiar to itself, it has a page of Christian history devoted to it whose freedom from serious blemish most other branches of the Church might wistfully envy.

CHAPTER XX.

CONFESSIONS IN THE SOCINIAN AND UNITARIAN CHURCHES.

THE independent attitude to doctrinal standards adopted by the Churches discussed in the last five divisions prepares us for the completely anti-Confessional and negative position of present-day Unitarianism, which has for its sole distinctive dogma the humanity, the non-divinity, of Jesus Christ, but refuses to fortify even that residuum of historical Christian doctrine behind Confessional bulwarks.[1] But in the Reformation era, Unitarian Christianity was far from entertaining such doctrinal self-restraint. It did not even dethrone the miraculous and supernatural in the Person and history of Jesus. It uttered its theological convictions in Confessional and catechetic form in the Socinian standards, not as binding creeds, of course, but as didactic manifestos. These reveal its origin in a Humanistic rationalism, which regards Christ simply as a revealer or teacher of moral and religious truth, His death as a prophet's martyrdom, and the Church as a school. Not the needs of the heart

[1] For discussion of the various editions and of the early sources in the private catechisms of Gregory Paul, Schomann, and Fausto Sozzini, see Thomas Rees, *Racovian Catechism*, London, 1818, Introd. p. lxxi ff. For Latin text of Sozzini's *Christianæ Religionis Brevissima Institutio*, and of another unfinished catechism by the same writer, see "Fausti Socini Senensis Opera Omnia," in the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum quos Unitarios vocant*, Irenopoli post annum Domini 1656, vol. i. pp. 651–676 and 677–689. For text of the Catech. of 1609, see edition Irenopoli post annum 1659. For Eng. tr. of completed edition of 1659, see Rees, *op. cit.* pp. 1–383 (a serviceable work). Cf. Winer, *Confessions*, Introd. pp. 31–34 (a somewhat confused account); Lindsay, *Hist. of Reformation*, vol. ii. pp. 470–483; Fock, *Der Socinianismus*, 1847; Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr. vii. p. 137 ff., gives a very full and searching critical analysis of the Racovian Catechism.

and the conscience, but those of the intellect, were paramount in its rise. Its conception of sin and its cause and its seriousness was very different from that which dominated Luther and the other orthodox Reformers, and led to its complete divergence from them. It denied original sin and guilt, vicarious atonement, the Incarnation and eternal Divinity of Christ, the Trinity ; and it discounted the inspiration of a great part of Scripture, especially the Old Testament.

EARLY CATECHISMS AND CONFESSIONS.

An early *Catechism and Confession* in Scriptural language was published at Cracow by the preacher Schomann in 1574. A *Smaller Catechism* for children followed in 1605. The *Larger or Racovian Catechism*, by Schmalz and Moscorovius, based on a fragmentary Catechism by Fausto Sozzini, was published at Rakau, a small town in Poland which was the centre of the movement, first in Polish in 1605, then in German in 1608, and finally in the standard Latin form, with modifications, in 1609. The *Confession of 1642* by Schlichting, of which the Confession of the Prussian Socinians in 1666 is simply an extract, took the form of an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, with numerous Scripture citations, and adopted an attitude of less acute antagonism to orthodoxy than the Catechism of 1605–9.

THE RACOVIAN CATECHISM.

The *Racovian Catechism* of 1605–9 is the standard expression of Socinian doctrine. It is essentially theological rather than religious, rationalistic yet also, unlike modern Unitarianism, supernaturalistic. It is throughout controversial and argumentative, becoming at times a dialogue. It is one of the longest of Catechisms, and in form one of the least suitable for its proper purpose. The tone is commendable. Its style is clear, its diction simple, though both are without distinction or impressiveness.

It is less a Confession than a systematic treatise in catechetic form. The Catechism contains eight sections of varying length. Section I. treats of Religion and Holy Scripture in general, containing four chapters on Holy Scripture (4 qns.), its Authenticity (26 qns.), its Sufficiency (5 qns.)., its Perspicuity (4 qns.). Section II. treats of the Way of Salvation and the Reasons for Revelation (10 qns.). Section III. treats of the Knowledge of God as the Supreme Lord of all things, in three scholastic chapters on the Knowledge, Being, and Will of God (44 qns.). Section IV. at great length treats of the Person of Christ, the first step in the discussion of the general knowledge of Christ (97 qns.). Section V. treats of the Prophetic Office of Christ, the Central and Supreme doctrine in the System, in an opening chapter (8qns.),followed by supplementary chapters on the Teachings He added to the Law (108 qns.), the Teachings He handed down under Seal (8 qns.), the Lord's Supper (11 qns.), Water-Baptism (5 qns.), the Promises of Eternal Life (9 qns.), and of the Holy Spirit (14 qns.), the Confirmation of the Divine Will (3 qns.), the Death of Christ (39 qns.), Faith (7 qns.), Free-will (30 qns.), Justification (4 qns.). Section VI. treats of Christ's Priestly Office (11 qns.), and VII. of His Kingly Office (20 qns.). The closing Section VIII. treats of the Church of Christ, as the body of His disciples, in four chapters, on the Visible Church (3 qns.), the Government of the Church (17 qns.), Ecclesiastical Discipline (13 qns.), and the Church Invisible (4 qns.) In view of its inaccessibility and unfamiliarity to the general reader, a selection of characteristic passages may be reproduced. The positions maintained are in many cases far removed from those of present-day Unitarianism, and they are maintained on Scriptural grounds. Socinus equally with Luther and Calvin claimed to be the simple expositor of the Bible, though he regarded it from a point of view more distant than theirs from the traditional. The work abounds in flashes of true insight, and in the evidences of minute scholarship. Not a few of its criticisms of prevailing theories have a permanent value, some,

indeed, have passed into commonplaces of modern thought. Had Socinianism been less powerful as a system of criticism, its exponents would have incurred less odium and detestation.

It opens thus :

I wish to be informed by you what the Christian Religion is.

The Christian Religion is the way of attaining eternal life, which God has pointed out by Jesus Christ : or, in other words, it is the method of serving God, which he has himself delivered by Jesus Christ.

Where may it be learnt ?

In the Holy Scriptures, especially those of the New Testament.

Sect. I., ch. 1. *How do you prove that the Christian Religion is true ?*

First, from the divinity of its author ;—and secondly, from the nature and circumstances of the Religion itself ; for these all demonstrate that it is divine, and consequently true.

Whence does it appear that Jesus Christ, the author of the Christian Religion, was divine ?

From the truly divine miracles which he wrought, and also from this circumstance,—that after having submitted to the most cruel death, on account of the religion he had taught, God raised him again to life.

How do you know that he wrought miracles, and that those miracles were divine ?

That he wrought miracles is proved by the acknowledgment, not only of those who believed in him, but also of his professed enemies, the Jews. That those miracles were divine, may easily be inferred from hence, that otherwise they must be attributed to the devil : but this the perfect holiness of the doctrine of Christ, established by these miracles, makes it impossible for us to admit ; as it is utterly hostile to the counsels of the devil, and designed for his shame and complete discomfiture, and for the highest glory of God. For as he asserted that he wrought miracles by a divine power, it is evident, since God after his crucifixion restored him to life, that what he declared was true—namely, that his miracles were divine.

I wish you now to prove the same from the nature of the Religion itself.

This appears from its precepts and promises, which are of so sublime a kind, and so far surpass the inventive powers of the human mind, that they could have had no author but God himself. For

its precepts inculcate a celestial holiness of life, and its promises comprehend the heavenly and everlasting happiness of man.

How do you prove the same from the circumstances of this religion?

This can be easily shown from its rise, progress, power, and effects.

Ch. 2. *Have you any other reasons to prove the perfection of the Holy Scriptures?*

. . . It is wholly incredible that in so large a body of sacred literature which God caused to be written and preserved with the express view of furnishing men with the knowledge of saving truths, those few particulars with which it is necessary for every person, even the most ignorant, to be acquainted in order to his salvation, should not all have been included: and that, while a great number of things are written, the knowledge of which is not essential to salvation, any one of those particulars should have been omitted, without which all the rest are of no avail.

Of what use, then, is right reason, if it be of any, in those matters which relate to salvation?

It is indeed of great service, since without it we could neither perceive with certainty the authority of the sacred writings, understand their contents, discriminate one thing from another, nor apply them to any practical purpose. When therefore I stated that the Holy Scriptures were sufficient for our salvation, so far from excluding right reason, I certainly assumed its presence.

If then such be the state of the case, what need is there of Traditions, which by the Church of Rome are pronounced to be necessary to salvation, and which it denominates the unwritten word of God?

You rightly perceive that they are not necessary to salvation.

Ch. 3. *What is your opinion as to the perspicuity of the Holy Scriptures?*

Although some difficulties do certainly occur in them, nevertheless those things which are necessary to salvation, as well as many others, are so plainly declared in different passages, that every one may understand them, especially if he be earnestly seeking after truth and piety, and implore divine assistance. . . . It is not to be believed that the writings furnished for this purpose should be of so defective a kind that God's will could not be perceived and understood from them by all. The apostles, even at the very first promulgation of the Christian Religion, addressed their epistles, which comprise the chief mysteries of Christianity, to men of plain understandings.

Whence then arise such differences in ascertaining the sense of the Scriptures?

These differences, so far as they relate to the parts of Sacred Writ which are necessary to salvation, are not very numerous, though the contrary is commonly supposed. And where differences do really exist, although some of them may arise from the obscurity of particular texts, yet the greatest number must be charged to men's own fault. For either they read the Scriptures with negligence, or bring not with them a sincere heart disengaged from all corrupt desires, or have their minds warped by prejudice, or seek not divine assistance with becoming earnestness, or else, finally, are perplexed by their ignorance of the languages in which the Scriptures were written. This last circumstance, however, can hardly exist in reference to those particulars which are essential to salvation, for if some of these be conveyed in more obscure, the rest are delivered in the plainest, declarations of Scripture.

Sect. III., ch. 1. *By what means may the more obscure passages of Scripture be understood?*

By carefully ascertaining in the first instance the scope and other circumstances of those passages, in the way which ought to be pursued in the interpretation of the language of all other human compositions. Secondly, by an attentive comparison of them with similar phrases and sentences of less ambiguous meaning. Thirdly, by submitting our interpretation of the more obscure passages to the test of the doctrines which are most clearly inculcated in the Scriptures, as to assured first principles, and admitting nothing that disagrees with these. And lastly, by rejecting every interpretation which is repugnant to right reason, or involves a contradiction.

Prove to me that in the one essence of God there is but one Person.

This indeed may be seen from hence that the essence of God is one, not in kind but in number. Wherefore it cannot in any way contain a plurality of persons, since a person is nothing else than an individual intelligent essence. Wherever, then, there exist three numerical persons, there must necessarily in like manner be reckoned three individual essences; for in the same sense in which it is affirmed that there is one numerical essence, it must be held that there is one numerical person. . . .

The term GOD is employed in the Scriptures chiefly in two senses. The former of these is when it designates him who so rules and presides over all things in heaven and on earth, that he acknowledges

no superior . . . in this sense the Scriptures assert that God is One. The latter sense is when it denotes a Being who has received from that one God some kind of superior authority either in heaven or on earth among men, or power superior to all things human, or authority to sit in judgment upon other men, and is thus rendered in some sense a partaker of the Deity of the one God.

Whence do you prove that the Son of God is in this latter sense called God in the Scriptures?

From those words of the Son of God himself, John x. 35, 36, "If he (David) called them Gods (that is, Ps. lxxxii. 6, "ye are Gods") unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken, say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God?" Christ most clearly intimates in these words that the title God is applied in the Scriptures to those who are greatly inferior to the one God, that is, to the rulers and judges of the people, and tacitly implies that he was himself for this reason the Son of God, that is, peculiarly, being not inferior to any one of those persons whom God had honoured with the title of Gods, but rather greatly the superior of them all, and was on this very account God,—that "the Father had sanctified him, and sent him into the world." . . .

The Holy Spirit is never expressly called God in the Scriptures. Nor is it to be inferred that it is itself God, or a person of the Divinity, because in some places those things are attributed to it which belong to God.

Sect. iv., ch. 1. *Of the person of Christ what are the things which I ought to know?*

This one particular alone,—that by nature he was truly a man, a mortal man while he lived on earth, but now immortal. That he was a real man the Scriptures testify in several places: thus, 1 Tim. ii. 5; 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22; Rom. v. 15; John viii. 40; Heb. v. 1, etc. Such besides was the person whom God promised of old by the prophets; and such also does the Creed called the Apostles', which all Christians in common with ourselves embrace, declare him to be.

Was then the Lord Jesus a mere or common man?

By no means: because, first, though by nature he was a man, he was nevertheless at the same time and even from his earliest origin the only-begotten Son of God. For, being conceived of the Holy Spirit, and born of a virgin, without the intervention of any human being, he had properly no father besides God: though,

considered in another light, simply according to the flesh, without respect to the Holy Spirit of which he was conceived, and with which he was anointed, he had David for his father, and was therefore his son. Secondly, because, as Christ testifies of himself, he was sanctified and sent into the world by the Father; that is, being in a most remarkable manner separated from all other men, and, besides being distinguished by the perfect holiness of his life, endued with divine wisdom and power, was sent by the Father with supreme authority on an embassy to mankind. Thirdly, because . . . he was raised from the dead by God and thus as it were begotten a second time,--particularly as by this event he became, like God, immortal. Fourthly, because by his dominion and supreme authority over all things, he is made to resemble, or indeed to equal, God. . . . He was, however, not merely the only-begotten Son of God, but also God, on account of the divine power and authority which he displayed even while he was yet mortal: much more may he be so denominated now that he has received all power in heaven and earth, and that all things, God himself alone excepted, have been put under his feet. . . . If by the terms divine nature or substance I am to understand the very essence of God, I do not acknowledge such a divine nature in Christ; for this were repugnant both to right reason and to the Holy Scriptures. But if, on the other hand, you intend by a divine nature the Holy Spirit which dwelt in Christ, united by an indissoluble bond to his human nature, and displayed in him the wonderful effects of its extraordinary presence; or if you understand the words in the sense in which Peter employs them (2 Pet. i. 4) when he asserts that "we are partakers of a divine nature," that is, endued by the favour of God with divinity, or divine properties,—I certainly do so far acknowledge such a nature in Christ as to believe that next after God it belonged to no one in a higher degree. . . . Two substances endued with opposite and discordant properties, such as are God and man, cannot be ascribed to one and the same individual, much less be predicated the one of the other. . . .

Sect. v., Introd. *Wherein consists his prophetic office?*

In perfectly manifesting to us, confirming and establishing, the hidden will of God. . . .

But by what means did the Lord Jesus himself acquire his knowledge of the divine will?

By ascending into heaven, where he beheld his Father, and that

life and happiness which he was to announce to us; where also he heard from the Father all those things which it would behove him to teach. Being afterwards sent by him from heaven to the earth, he was most largely endowed with the Holy Spirit, through whose inspiration he proclaimed what he had learned from the Father.

Ch. 1. *What is the property of the New Covenant?*

It is altogether spiritual, being placed not in external things which from their nature conduce nothing to virtue, but in things internal possessing some moral value. But external rites, commonly denominated ceremonial, are not spiritual, nor do they of themselves and from their nature at all conduce to virtue and piety. Unless, then, there exist in the New Testament some express command concerning things of this kind, it is by no means to be believed that they are to be observed under the New Covenant. It must therefore be understood that what is commanded in the Old Covenant in respect to what are usually called ceremonies in no way pertains to the New.

On what account were certain ceremonies belonging to the Old Covenant openly abrogated?

Because those ceremonies were shadows of things future, which are now present and have appeared in the New Covenant. Wherefore, the body being come, the shadows retire.

How do you show that we may in our necessities address our prayers to the Lord Jesus?

First, from this consideration, that he is both able and willing to afford us assistance, and understands our prayers. Secondly, because we have exhortations to this duty given us by our Lord himself and by his apostles. And lastly, because examples of this practice may be seen in holy men. . . .

What think you of those persons who believe that Christ is not to be invoked or adored?

Since they alone are Christians who acknowledge Jesus to be the Christ, . . . and worship him on a religious ground, and do not hesitate to invoke his name, . . . it is easily perceived that they who are disinclined to do this are so far not Christians, although in other respects they confess the name of Christ, and declare that they adhere to his doctrine.

Ch. 3. *What is your opinion respecting the Baptism of water?*

That it is a rite of initiation, whereby men after admitting his doctrine and embracing faith in him are gained to Christ, and

planted among his disciples, or in his Church; renouncing the world with its manners and errors, and professing that they have for their sole master and leader in religion, and in the whole of their lives and conversations, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost who spoke by the apostles; declaring and as it were representing by their very ablution, immersion, and emergence, that they design to rid themselves of the pollution of their sins, to bury themselves with Christ, and therefore to die with him, and rise again to newness of life: binding themselves down, in order that they may do this in reality, and at the same time after making this profession, and laying themselves under this obligation, receiving the symbol and the sign of the remission of their sins, and so far receiving the remission itself.

Do infants at all belong to this rite?

If you look to the custom of the ancient apostolic Church, and to the end for which this rite was instituted by the apostles, it does not pertain to infants, since we have in the Scriptures no command for, nor any example of, infant baptism, nor are they as yet capable, as the thing itself shows, of the faith in Christ which ought to precede this rite and which men profess by this rite. . . . Nevertheless Christian charity incites us until the truth shall more and more appear to tolerate this error, now so inveterate and common, especially as it concerns a ritual observance, in persons who in other respects live piously, and do not persecute those who renounce this error.

Ch. 4. *What is the rite of breaking bread?*

It is an institution of the Lord Christ that believers in him should break and eat bread, and drink of a cup together, with the view of commemorating him, or of showing forth his death,—which institution ought to continue until his coming.

But why does our Lord wish the remembrance of this to be above all other things celebrated in his Church?

Because of all the actions of Christ which he undertook with a view to our salvation, this was the most difficult, exhibited the strongest proof of his love towards us, and was the most proper to him. For the resurrection of Christ from the dead, and his exaltation, were the work of God the Father, and not of Christ himself. . . . There is no stronger reason, although some assert that he instituted it in order that from the observance of it the remission of sins and the confirmation of our faith might follow, and others that it is a sacrifice for the living and the dead.

What is the meaning of these words, "This is my body"?

They are not understood by all persons in the same sense; for some think that the bread is actually changed into the body, and the wine into the blood of Christ, which change they term transubstantiation. Others imagine that the body of Christ is in the bread, or under it, or with it. And there are some who suppose that in the Lord's Supper they are partakers, but nevertheless spiritually, of the body and the blood of the Lord; all which opinions are erroneous and false.

Ch. 6. *What is the Holy Spirit?*

The Holy Spirit is a virtue or energy flowing from God to men, whereby he separates them from others, and consecrates them to his own service.

Is there not need of the internal gift of the Holy Spirit in order to believe the Gospel?

No, for we do not read in the Holy Scriptures that it was conferred upon any one besides those who had believed the Gospel.

Ch. 8. *How has the blood or the death of Christ confirmed to us the will of God?*

In two ways. First, because he did not suffer himself to be deterred from inculcating his doctrine even by the most painful death, but particularly because he ratified the New Covenant by his blood, and confirmed the New Testament by his death (Heb. xiii. 20). . . . Secondly, because through his death he was led to his resurrection, from which principally arises the confirmation of the divine will, and the most certain persuasion of our resurrection and the obtaining of eternal life.

But did not Christ die also, in order, properly speaking, to purchase our salvation, and literally to pay the debt of our sins?

Although Christians at this time commonly so believe, yet this notion is false, erroneous, and exceedingly pernicious; since they conceive that Christ suffered an equivalent punishment for our sins, and by the price of his obedience exactly compensated our disobedience. There is no doubt, however, but that Christ so satisfied God by his obedience, that he completely fulfilled the whole of his will, and by his obedience obtained, through the grace of God, for all of us who believe in him, the remission of our sins, and eternal salvation.

How is this opinion repugnant to the Scriptures?

Because the Scriptures everywhere testify that God forgives men their sins freely, and especially under the New Covenant (2 Cor. v. 19;

Rom. iii. 24, 25; Matt. xviii. 23, etc.). But to a free forgiveness nothing is more opposite than such a satisfaction as they contend for, and the payment of an equivalent price. For where a creditor is satisfied, either by the debtor himself, or by another person on the debtor's behalf, it cannot with truth be said of him that he freely forgives the debt.

How is this repugnant to reason?

This is evident from hence; that it would follow that Christ, if he has satisfied God for our sins, has submitted to eternal death; since it appears that the penalty which men had incurred by their offences was eternal death; not to say that one death, though it were eternal in duration,—much less one so short,—could not of itself be equal to innumerable eternal deaths. For if you say that the death of Christ, because he was a God infinite in nature, was equal to the infinite deaths of the infinite race of men,—besides that I have already refuted this opinion concerning the nature of Christ,—it would follow that God's infinite nature itself suffered death itself. But as death cannot any way belong to the infinity of the divine nature, so neither, literally speaking (as must necessarily be done here, where we are treating of a real compensation and payment), can the infinity of the divine nature any way belong to death. In the next place, it would follow that there was no necessity that Christ should endure such sufferings, and so dreadful a death, and that God—be it spoken without offence—was unjust, who, when he might well have been contented with one drop (as they say) of the blood of Christ, would have him so severely tormented. Lastly, it would follow that we were more obliged to Christ than to God, and owed him more, indeed owed him everything; since he, by this satisfaction, showed us much kindness; whereas God, by exacting his debt, showed us no kindness at all.

State in what manner this opinion is pernicious.

Because it opens a door to licentiousness, or, at least, invites men to indolence in the practice of piety, in what way soever they urge the piety of their patron. For if full payment have been made to God by Christ for all our sins, even those which are future, we are absolutely freed from all liability to punishment, and therefore no further condition can by right be exacted from us to deliver us from the penalties of sin. What necessity, then, would there be for living religiously? But the Scripture testifies (Tit. ii. 14; Gal. i. 4; 1 Pet. i. 18; Heb. ix. 14; 2 Cor. v. 15; Eph. v. 26) that Christ died for this

end, among others, that he might "redeem us from all iniquity, and purify us unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works"; "that he might deliver us from the present evil world"; "might redeem us from our vain conversation, received by tradition from our fathers"; in order that being "dead to sin" we might "live unto righteousness," that our consciences might be "purged from dead works to serve the living God."

Ch. 9. *What is that faith which, taken by itself, is not attended with salvation?*

It is a bare assent alone of the mind, whereby we acknowledge the doctrine of Jesus Christ to be true; which assent is not attended with salvation, unless something else be added to it. This appears, first, among many other things, from the Apostle James, who asserts that faith cannot save him who has not works, that without works it is dead; and that this is only such a faith as even the demons entertain: secondly, from those rulers concerning whom John writes (John xii. 42), that "many of them believed, but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue."

What is the faith which is by itself followed by salvation?

It is such an assent to the doctrine of Christ, that we apply it to its proper object: that is, that we trust in God through Christ, and give ourselves up wholly to obey his will, whereby we obtain his promises; for without this our trust were vain, and without trust our assent would also be vain.

What is obedience?

Under the Gospel it is this,—that after being adopted by God for his sons, and endued with a filial spirit, we conduct ourselves as obedient children, doing with our whole heart and with all our strength those things which we know that our heavenly Father requires us to perform, and giving all heed not to offend him in anything. . . .

Ch. 10. *Is it in our power to obey God in the way you have stated?*

It is, when strengthened by the divine aid, and by that filial spirit of which I have spoken. For it is certain that the first man was so created by God as to be endowed with free will; and there was no reason why God should deprive him of it after his fall. And the equity and justice of God will not allow that he should deprive man of the will and power of acting rightly; especially since subsequently to that period he requires under a threat of punishment that

he should will and act rightly. Nor is there any mention of a punishment of this kind among the penalties with which God punished the sin of Adam.

Is not this free will depraved by original sin?

It is not yet agreed among its advocates themselves, what original sin is. This is certain, that, by the fall of Adam the nature of man is by no means so depraved as that he is deprived of the liberty and power of obeying or not obeying God in those things which he requires of him under the threat of punishment or the promise of reward. Nor can it otherwise be shown from any testimony of Scripture, that it has this effect; while the declarations are innumerable which demonstrate the contrary clearer than the sun. And the fall of Adam, as it was but one act, could not have power to deprave his own nature, much less that of his posterity. That this was not inflicted upon him by God as punishment I have just shown. I do not deny, however, that, by the habit of sinning, the nature of man is infected with a certain stain, and a very strong disposition to wickedness; but I do deny both that this of itself is a sin, and that it is of such a nature that a man, after he has imbibed the divine spirit, cannot create for himself the power of obeying God as far as he, in his infinite goodness and equity, requires.

Sect. VI. *Wherein consists the priestly office of Christ?*

In this, that he not only offered up prayers and supplications to God for himself and for us while he dwelt on earth, but also sanctified himself and gave himself as an offering for us, shedding his own blood for our sins; and thus, after being restored to life by God and made immortal, he has by his own blood entered the holy celestial place, and offered himself to God, appearing for ever in his presence, and interceding for us; by which one offering he has obtained for all who believe in him eternal redemption, and deliverance from their sins. . . . The expiation which Christ makes for our sins is a deliverance from the guilt of our sins, and from the penalties, both temporal and eternal, which follow them; and also from the sins themselves, that we no longer serve them.

Sec. VIII, ch. 1. *What is the visible Church?*

It is a society of such men as hold and profess saving doctrine. Every church which holds and professes saving doctrine is a true church.

Ch. 4. *Who then are the invisible Church?*

They are those who truly confide in Christ and obey him, and are

therefore in the most perfect sense his body; an assembly or congregation of whom, so that we may be assured in respect to the real piety of each individual, we shall not, I apprehend, ever find or see, except at the coming of Christ.

Have you anything to add, which relates to the knowledge of the saving doctrine?

It belongs to you, after having rightly perceived and understood these things, to imprint them on your mind, and to regulate your life conformably to their directions. May God assist you in this work:—to whom, as he has graciously permitted us to bring our conference to a termination, be praise and glory, through Jesus Christ, for ever and ever. Amen.[1]

MODERN UNITARIAN MANUALS.

In spite of the extreme liberty claimed and allowed by present-day Unitarians, who agree in repudiating the authority of all creeds, something like a doctrinal understanding, however simple and liberal and patient of differences, is presupposed by their congregational fellowship, their alliance in Associations, and their maintenance of Colleges for the common training of Ministers. There exist a number of statements of doctrine and catechisms, private or personal in origin, and of course devoid of external authority, which have commended themselves to ministers and members of the Unitarian Churches generally. The following are several examples:

Questions and Answers concerning our Unitarian Faith, Fellowship, and Organization is the title of No. 13 in a series of official leaflets published by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association at Essex Hall, their London Centre. It contains twenty-five Questions:—

1. *What is the Religion we affirm?*

We affirm, in accordance with the teaching of Jesus, that practical religion is summed up in love to God and love to Man.

2. *What are our great Beliefs?*

The Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, the Leadership of Jesus, the Progress of Mankind onward and upward for ever.

[1] Translation of Rees, *op. cit.*, with few changes.

3. *Do we, then, set forth a Creed?*

No; we cherish our beliefs, but do not seek to impose them upon others as authoritative dogmas. We cordially invite to our religious fellowship any who, even though differing from us in belief, feel themselves in general sympathy with our spiritual ideals and practical aims.

4. *What makes us Liberals in Religion?*

The holding of these principles:

(1) Freedom of reason and conscience our method in religion—instead of authority or tradition;

(2) The broadest fellowship our spirit in religion—instead of sectarianism;

(3) Character our standard in religion—instead of creed.

5. *Are all Liberals in Religion Unitarians?*

By no means. Whoever holds the foregoing principles supreme is a Liberal in Religion, whatever his denominational name. Beliefs, being of the mind, must needs differ, and therefore there will be different names and organizations.

19. *How many Churches have we in the United Kingdom?*

There are three hundred and seventy congregations, with about the same number of ministers. These congregations are self-governing; but many of them are aided by grants from the District Societies and the British and Foreign Unitarian Association.

20. *Are there kindred Churches in other countries?*

There are nearly five hundred in the United States of America, and about one hundred and twenty-five in Transylvania, Hungary. Besides these, there are scattered congregations in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and other countries.

21. *Name a few leaders of Unitarian thought?*

Joseph Priestley, Theophilus Lindsey, William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker, James Martineau, John Hamilton Thom, Charles Beard, and Richard Acland Armstrong.

22. *Are there Unitarians outside of our Churches?*

Yes, many; especially among the Universalists and the Hicksite Friends in the United States, and the Liberal Protestants in France, Germany, Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland. The Reformed Jews, the Brahmo Samaj of India, and, in these later days, very many in orthodox churches, as well as many thinkers outside all churches, are in close accord with Unitarians.

23. *What is the International Council?*

It is a Conference of Liberal Religious Thinkers and Workers in many lands. It was organized in 1900, and it has met in London, Amsterdam, Geneva, and Boston, U.S.A. It draws together representatives of the various bodies named in the preceding statement, who are striving to unite pure religion and perfect liberty.

24. *Where can details of our Societies and Work be learned?*

From the *Essex Hall Year Book*, published annually by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association at Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, London, W.C., which is the headquarters of our literary activity, and the meeting-place of many of our organizations.

25. *Why should we seek a share in Unitarian work and worship?*

Because in these we can enjoy and promote the life of the spirit without dogmatic fetters.

Because our children and young people need guidance and encouragement in their growth toward what is wise, beautiful, and true.

Because many of our neighbours who have been repelled by orthodox teachings would find relief and inspiration in the new faith.

Because in this way we shall best take our part in establishing righteousness in the State, love and goodness in the home, and the kingdom of God in the heart.

Unitarian Belief: Brief Answers to Questions, is the title of Leaflet 15 in the same series. It is probably the most precise and representative statement of modern Unitarianism that could be selected. Its fifteen Questions are as follows:

1. *What is a Unitarian?*

Briefly, one who believes in the simple unity of God, and in the divine nature of man.

According to the strict meaning of the word, Unitarianism is belief in the simple unity of God, rejecting the doctrine of the Trinity. In its actual use, representing the belief of Unitarians generally, it includes much more.

2. *What do Unitarians themselves regard as the central idea, the kernel of their faith?*

Belief in the divine nature of man, as opposed to the doctrine of total depravity.

3. *Why are they called Unitarians?*

The name was originally given them scornfully by their opponents centuries ago, who were more shocked by the abandonment of the doctrine of the Trinity than by any other departure from the old creeds.

4. *Why do Unitarians reject the doctrine of the Trinity?*

Because it is unintelligible and contrary to reason. It is nowhere taught in the New Testament. The only text in the Authorized Version which seemed to teach the doctrine (1 John v. 7) was omitted as spurious in the Revised Version by the unanimous concurrence of the Revision Committee, who were nearly all Trinitarian scholars.

5. *Are Unitarians Christians?*

Yes; but they differ from many, perhaps most, Christians in holding that obedience to the spirit of the teaching of Jesus is more important than a correct or uniform intellectual belief with regard to his nature and official position.

6. *How can Unitarians be Christians while denying the divinity of Jesus?*

They deny the *deity* of Jesus, but *not* his divinity. Indeed, they specially emphasize his divinity as a real and personal quality inherent in his humanity.

7. *How can the divinity of Jesus be spoken of by those who regard him as a mere man?*

The phrase "a mere man" is not ours, but was invented by other Christians who did not understand the Unitarian position, and who have derived from the doctrine of total depravity a low idea of human nature. Unitarians believe that in Jesus we see the divineness of human nature, and that what he was in spirit and in purpose all men ought to strive to become.

8. *What ground is there for believing in the divine nature of man as sharing in the nature of God and of Jesus Christ?*

It is a doctrine that agrees with the Master's own teaching as found in the New Testament, and is both simple and rational.

9. *What do Unitarians believe about God?*

That God is the Father of every human soul; that his nature includes wisdom, power, and goodness, and that he is infinitely forgiving.

From this there naturally follows the belief that all men are brothers.

10. *What do Unitarians believe about the Holy Ghost?*

The phrase "Holy Ghost" should everywhere in the New

Testament be translated "Holy Spirit." "Ghost" is the old English word for "spirit," but its meaning has been changed, and it now suggests a spectre.

Unitarians believe that as we call God the Creator when we think of him as creating all things, and as we call him "our Father in heaven" when we think of him as loving us and caring for us, so we call him the "Holy Spirit" when we try to express the experience of a near and personal communion with him, feeling his presence in the heart and soul.

11. *When Unitarians teach "salvation by character rather than by belief," what do they mean?*

That character is an end, not a means. That salvation is being saved from sin here, not from punishment hereafter. Unitarians believe that it was the mission of Jesus to save us from sin itself by helping us to become good men and women; that the evil we have to fear is sin, not the punishment for sin; and that the greatest blessing attainable is goodness itself, not any reward for goodness.

12. *It is said that Unitarians do not believe in the Bible. Is this true?*

They do not believe in the *infallibility* of the Bible taught in the doctrine of "plenary inspiration." This doctrine has hidden much of the real power and beauty of the Bible, since it places every passage on a dead level; putting, for instance, the gloomy pessimism of Ecclesiastes ("all is vanity") on a plane with the manly optimism of Paul ("as having nothing, yet possessing all things"). The Bible is really not a book, but a library, written by many authors at different times. But Unitarians believe much of the Bible to be *inspired* in the truest sense, because full of the utterances of inspired souls, that is, of men who lived in conscious communion with God.

Unitarians do not think it at all reasonable to regard some portions of the Old Testament (such as the story of the murder of Sisera) as having the same value, and deserving the same reverence, as the words of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount.

13. *Why do Unitarians disbelieve in hell and in everlasting punishment?*

Because, among other reasons, to believe in hell, as usually understood by orthodoxy, is to deny the wisdom and power and, above all, the goodness of God. This doctrine teaches that evil is stronger than good, and will conquer God, since it maintains that many beings will live for ever in sin and suffering, God himself hav-

ing been unable to save them. Even if some of the various writings of the New Testament supported it, faith in God and goodness would forbid our believing it.

The word translated "hell" in the New Testament sometimes stands for the Greek word "hades," and means simply the place of departed spirits, and sometimes it stands for "gehenna," the valley outside the walls of Jerusalem, where refuse was burned, and then it is used as a figure of speech.

14. *Do Unitarians believe that all men, the good and the bad alike, will after death be received into a region of blessedness?*

By no means. They believe that heaven is a state rather than a place; and that heaven and hell (the real hell) may often begin in this life. They believe that heaven is inseparable from a life of goodness and hell from a life of sin; and that the mere change from one stage of existence to another does not in itself effect a sudden transformation in the character. They believe that growth and development will go on for ever, and that all suffering, whether here or hereafter, is reformatory and educational, and not vindictive. In time the wisdom and love of God will triumph over all the wilfulness and weakness of man, and will eventually lead all souls to goodness and to communion with himself.

15. *What reason have Unitarians to believe that all souls will finally be saved?*

Because to doubt it would be to doubt that perfect goodness of God which is taught by Jesus. If we believe with him that God is our Father; that we are his children, and that God loves every soul he has created, then we must believe that he has created us for goodness, and that we shall become in time all that he intends us to be.

The *Manual of Unitarian Belief*, by James Freeman Clarke, a Boston divine who was a scholar of Channing and carried on his thought, is widely used on both sides of the Atlantic. It is more elaborate and detailed. Its sixty-seven paragraphs discuss, with reference to Scripture and to History, twenty cardinal topics:—Religion Necessary to Man, Christianity, Unitarianism, The Bible, Belief concerning God, The Trinity, Jesus Christ, Faith and Belief in regard to Christ, The Work of Christ, The Holy Spirit, Belief concerning Man, Atonement and Reconciliation,

Conversion and Regeneration, Prayer, The Church (including Sacraments), Creeds, Liberal and Rational Christianity, Religious Duty, The Future Life, Probation Judgment and Retribution, Heaven and Hell.

A Catechism of Religion, by H. W. Hawkes of Bootle, has commended itself for domestic use in the teaching of the young. Its fifty-two Questions follow a somewhat similar outline, and reflect the general position of such recent leaders as Tayler and Martineau.

For the rest, reference may be made to the manuals of Unitarian worship, its hymn-books and liturgies, from which, as in all denominations of the Christian Church, most valuable doctrinal testimony may be drawn.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONFESSIONS IN OTHER CHURCHES.

THE CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC, NEW JERUSALEM, CHRISTIAN SCIENCE, AND MORMON CHURCHES.

IN addition to the main groups of dogmatic standards which have been reviewed in the preceding chapters there remain for brief treatment four outstanding minor types of doctrine which found adherents and formed the basis of church organizations in the nineteenth century. In them as in the ruling ideas of other small organizations that have been discussed, *e.g.* the Quaker, the Salvationist, and the Christadelphian Churches, an element of the eccentric and exaggerative obtrudes itself, to the prejudice of underlying conceptions which command respect. No systematic analysis of their doctrine can be attempted in a work which deals with formal confessions of ecclesiastical faith, for such documents, strictly, they do not possess. It may be of use and interest, however, to set down such approximations to authoritative statements of doctrine as are available. Further details must be sought in the accredited manuals and service-books, and other official publications of the organizing centres.

I. THE CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

The Catholic Apostolic Church,[1] widely known as the Irvingite Church in spite of its disclaimer of the name, owed its rise and character to the religious disquiet and aspira-

[1] E. Miller, *History and Doctrines of Irvingism*, 2 vols., 1878, containing the principal documents; art. "Catholic Apostolic Church," in the new Schaff-Herzog; and the publications of the Church; Schaff, *Hist. of Creeds*, pp. 905–915, with bibliog.

tions of the first half of the nineteenth century. Its adventism reflects the political anxieties of an age of change and revolution as well as the prophetic and apocalyptic studies of an age devoted to minute Biblical scholarship. Its plea for Christian unity and catholicity reflects the spirit of an age with a vastly widened outlook and imperialistic instincts. Its quickly developed passion for gorgeous ceremonial and vestments, and its liturgical enthusiasm reflect the antiquarian and sensuous tastes of an age which studied as well as made history, which was devoted, however crudely, to art, and form, and colour, and which gave birth to the Oxford Movement. Its revival of the apostolate, grotesque as it may seem to those who do not share its advent hopes, was simply one of the many forms in which the missionary spirit of the age, and its zeal for the imitation of the first age of the Church, expressed itself. Formed at first out of a private conference of representatives of the Churches of England and Scotland and of Nonconformity, united for prophetic and apocalyptic study, and inspired by faith in the revival of the primitive apostolic gifts of the Spirit in all their fulness, the Church, whose apostolate of twelve was completed in 1835, the year after the death of Edward Irving, its one genius and only apostolic personality, soon threw off the Presbyterian simplicity of its early services, and set itself to rival or outdo the Roman and Greek Ritual and Hierarchy, though it possessed no ordination which those communions could regard as other than a travesty of their own. It recognizes and employs the Ancient Creeds, and it incorporates the Anglican Catechism in its own book of instruction for the young. Its characteristic doctrines include the immediate Expectation of the Second Advent and the Millennial Kingdom of Messiah; Irving's view of the Redeemer's assumption of sinful human flesh; Biblical Symbolism; the Fourfold Ministry of Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, and Pastors. The official documents in which they are set forth consist of *Three Testimonies*, the *Manual*, the *Liturgy*, and the *Catechism*.

The Testimonies are three in number. The two shorter were addressed in 1836 respectively to King William IV. and his Privy Council, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury and his episcopal colleagues. The former is the work mainly of Spencer Perceval, the Apostle of Italy and the "Tribe of Manasseh," the latter of John B. Cardale, the Apostle of England and the "Tribe of Judah. The Great Testimony of 1837 was addressed to "the Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and others in places of chief rule over the Church of Christ throughout the earth, and to the Emperors, Kings, Sovereign Princes, and Chief Governors over the Nations of the Baptized. The burden and tenor of all three is the same: Christendom is in spiritual distress, the clergy discredited, apostasy rampant, church discipline in abeyance, revolution and godless trust in the power of the masses are supreme: a judgment of God is imminent upon the Christian Church and Nations: they will suffer most whose trust and responsibility have been greatest: God has appointed fresh apostles to exhort and evangelize the Twelve Tribes of His People, to build up anew His fallen Church: rulers and princes in Church and State are admonished to give heed to their doctrine and accept their message and authority: that doctrine is set forth with its Scripture warrant. The admonitions are couched in the prophetic manner and diction, often with much dignity and impressiveness: the survey of the state of Christendom is powerful and moving: the historical passages reveal a wide outlook and statesmanlike grasp: the political references, if they betray an aristocratic and ecclesiastical panic, not unnatural at the time, show also a profound insight into the spiritual perils of the new régime. A few passages will illustrate the tone and language of these appeals.

i. From the *Testimony to the King and Council.*

The handwriting of God is upon the wall: every eye has beheld it, but there has been no interpreter.

The constitution of the kingdom has been changed; in casting

off its Christian character, its acknowledgment of allegiance to the Lord Jesus Christ, by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act, and by the admission of Papists to Parliament and to office; it has been changed by the Reform Bill, which has laid the foundation of the present order of things in wrong and robbery, through the violation of charters, the contempt of prescriptive rights, and the overruling the independence of the upper House of Parliament; for it is notorious that it was only carried through that House by the sworn servants of the crown counselling and restraining their royal master to consent to violate that independence, if the Lords would not pass the Bill presented from the Commons. . . . It is admitted on all hands that at no period since the Revolution has there been so great a difficulty in forming or carrying on the Government as has been experienced since the passing of the Reform Bill. Whichever party is in power finds it equally impossible to bring forward such measures as it conceives to be most conducive to the well-being of the State, but is obliged to conciliate the fears and prejudices of those whom it equally fears and hates; Government in its strict sense is at an end; the persons who hold office are the executive of a power unseen but not unfelt—"the pressure from without." Every political journal, all writers of acknowledged political sagacity of every nation and party, have foreseen and declared their conviction that a crisis is at hand the certain issue of which they cannot divine, but the consequences of which they all agree in dreading.

Such is the present state of Great Britain. . . . Her institutions, which for ages have secured her from the oppression of a monarch, of nobles, or of the many, tottering to their base; some laid prostrate; the whole attacked on every side by ruthless men, and none to save her. Her readiest defenders caught into the eddy, and themselves from time to time the helpers forward of her destruction, the instruments in the hands of those whom they abhor; her king all but a captive in the hands of his own subjects; her proud nobility, who never feared to avow their rights, waning before the threats and violence of their enemies, and scarce venturing by subtlety to undermine, or to postpone, the measures which they dare not openly to resist; many of the flower of them basely courting the favour of the mob they hate, in the vain hope of concealing their elevated station, and thinking to hide themselves by merging in the common mass; her gentry in like manner pandering to the passions of the people; the people themselves preyed on by one another; the

labourers oppressed, and in their turn rising on their oppressors, and by combinations effecting the ruin of their employers, and ultimately their own; and all, or nearly all, that are active in the land, madly bent upon destruction, to which there seems no limit while there is anything to destroy. O England, thy judgment cometh upon thee like a whirlwind, and there is no escape!

The baptized in their present standing, divided and opposed to one another, cannot bear witness to the truth as it is in Jesus. But God would bring them out of their division. . . .

In this land has God called His apostles, and given prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers; and prophets, evangelists, and teachers will He have in all lands, through the ministry of His Apostles, who must be sent forth unto all the baptized, gathering everywhere, and building everywhere—teaching and ordaining ministers throughout the earth.

Already has the Lord prevailed on these kingdoms to gather His people in many places, and to build them into Churches, giving them His ordinances anew from heaven; calling His servants, by the voice of prophecy, to serve Him in the ministries of His house, and setting over His flocks His Angels and Elders, and giving evangelists, by the laying on of the hands of His Apostles. In London He has set His seven churches, wherein He will show forth the pattern of the completeness of the Universal Church—one, holy, Apostolical. He has gathered His children out of every sect and division, from every name and denomination, showing himself the Father of all, with whom is no respect of persons. In Edinburgh, in Dublin, and in many other towns in England and Scotland does the Church appear, His people gathered by the cry, "The bridegroom cometh!" walking by the light of prophecy, and in the strength and defence of the ordinances of God, received through Apostolic ordination.

Gather yourselves together, yea, gather together, O nation not desired, before the decree bring forth—before the day pass as chaff—before the fierce anger of the Lord come upon you—before the day of the Lord's anger come upon you! Seek ye the Lord, all ye meek of the earth, which have wrought His judgments. Seek righteousness, seek meekness: it may be ye shall be hid in the day of the Lord's anger.

The Testimony of the Lord your God against the land—the warning of His judgments—and the message of His mercy.

i. From the *Testimony to the Archbishops and Bishops.*

The Church of England, among all the divisions of the Catholic Church, is most to be commended for the measure of truth contained in her doctrinal standards, for the comparative purity and spirituality of her liturgies, unmixed with superstitious rites of popery and relics of paganism, and for her Church administration, wherein she rejects not, with the greater part of other reformed Churches, the Apostolic forms and ordinances of the primitive Church.

It is notorious that through Europe priesthood is scorned under the name of priestcraft by the great mass of those who think for themselves—by almost all but those in whom reverence is sunk in superstition and idolatry; that the holiest truths of God are denied as irrational; the miraculous character of Christianity is assailed, and its most venerable mysteries are considered mere symbols for conveying a system of ethics, preferable, perhaps (but only because more comprehensive), to the lessons of classical philosophy; that the Continent is all but swallowed up by the mediocrity in all that instruct, all that can strengthen, and all that can minister the life of religion in the Greek Church; by the pagan superstition, the perversions of truth, and the declining dotage of the papal system in the Church of Rome; or when vitality, or at least activity, is most apparent, by the spiritual infidelity of Germany and the fierce atheism of France.

There may be exceptions, holy and good men, Greek, Roman, and Protestant, if such can be considered properly exceptions. Until the very reign of Antichrist, when nothing else shall be allowed to peep and mutter, buy or sell, charges of universal apostasy will ever be exaggerations. But the general truth of this description is notorious; and our object in giving it is not to convict of sin, but to present in its true colours the condition of so large a portion of the baptized Church, the descendants of saints and martyrs—a condition which should draw from us, as from the prophet mourning over the vision of the desolations of Jerusalem, the exclamation of passionate grief, "Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people! . . ."

We call not upon you to follow twelve men, but to have faith in the Living God, in His promises, and in His word. We remind you as the priests of God that ye have to render to Him His Bride. . . .

iii. From the *Great Testimony*, to Princes in Church and State.

[After the address proper the Testimony opens with a confessional summary of the Catholic truth on which the distinctive tenets of the New Church rest.]

The everlasting God, who by His word created the heavens and the earth and all things that are therein, made man in His own image, and gave unto him commission to subdue the earth and have dominion over every living thing that moveth thereon. God made him and all things very good, and gave him this one command, that, while of every tree of the garden wherein He placed him he might freely eat, of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil he should not eat; for in the day that he should eat thereof, he should surely die.

And man did eat, and with him this creation fell; by him sin entered into the world, and death by sin. The image of God was marred, His creatures were involved in misery, and His handiwork became a ruin.

But God who is rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us, hath devised the means whereby He might deliver and restore His creation, and fulfil all His purpose in man. Forth from His bosom He sent the Son of His love, who, for our salvation and for love of us, laid aside the eternal glory, and though begotten before all worlds, being God of God, very God of very God, was born in the world, being conceived of the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary. He was made flesh and dwelt among us. He assumed that predestinated form, after which man was at the first created. He took hold of the seed of Adam, even of the seed of Abraham, and bound it for ever in Himself in indissoluble union with Godhead;—God and man in one person for ever united, God and man through one person for ever reconciled, without possibility of disruption; the fallen creature redeemed unto God, beyond possibility of future fall; life brought out of death by resurrection —regenerate life—life which shall never die; and to those who are made partakers of this life and overcome, He shall give to sit down with Him on His throne, even as He also overcame, and is set down with His Father on His throne: and thus in the eternal stability of that kingdom, God's purpose in creation shall be accomplished: for the world to come shall be subjected to man, and he shall have dominion over all the works of God's hands.

And God hath herein declared His righteousness, that He might

be just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus: for by His holy life the God-man did approve Himself a Lamb without spot or blemish, and by His death offered up an all-atoning sacrifice for us. He suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, and He is the propitiation for our sins and the sins of the whole world, and hath redeemed us unto God, not with silver or gold, but with His own most precious blood. Therefore also the Father hath highly exalted Him, and hath given assurance unto all men that His offering and sacrifice are accepted for us, in that He raised Him from the dead and set Him at His own right hand. And being ascended thither, He hath received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, whom He bestoweth upon those who believe, that they should be builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit; that, as lively stones they should be built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifice acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.

Thus God declared in a mystery, by the creation of Adam in His own image, the future glory of man, and the future stability of the universe under his rule: and by the succeeding history of Adam He hath also in a mystery revealed the future glory of the Church as the Bride of the Lamb, the partner of His throne. For it is written, "The Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept, and He took one of his ribs and closed up the flesh instead thereof; and the rib which the Lord God had taken from man made He a woman, and brought her unto the man: and Adam said, This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh: therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh. . . ."

Such is the eternal purpose of God in His Church: and the means for effectuating this purpose . . . may be comprised under two heads: the sacraments of life, and the ministries ordained of God for fulfilling the functions of that life. These two heads correspond to that twofold purpose of God just pointed out; His purpose namely in man considered abstractedly, and in the Church considered as the body of Christ, the bride to be prepared for His coming: they correspond in like manner to the twofold work of Jesus Christ on earth; His life in flesh, wherein He was our example, holy, harmless, separate from sinners; and the witness which He bore to God as the Revealer of the Father, the Doer of the Father's works, the Bearer of His message, the introducer of the Dispensation of the Gospel unto men.

But these holy rites can only be administered . . . by those

who have received authority thereto; and this authority can proceed only from the Lord Jesus Christ the Head of the Church, either directly or through those whom He useth for conferring it. . . . If at any time the Church have deviated from its original constitution, if the instrumentality ordained of God be in any of its parts deficient, that deviation must be overruled and corrected, and that which has become defective must be restored. . . . Now the Apostle Paul most fully and distinctly in his first epistle to the Corinthians and in his epistle to the Ephesians declares what is the constitution of the Church as framed of God (1 Cor. xii. 27–31; Eph. iv. 4–16). . . . The Lord Jesus Christ himself did bear in himself all these offices when upon earth. He was the Apostle of our profession; . . . the Prophet mighty in word and deed; . . . the Evangelist, the preacher of the Gospel to the poor, the anointed healer of the sick, the wounded, and the maimed; the good Shepherd who laid down His life for the sheep, the teacher sent from God.

In like manner God is still to be revealed by Christ Jesus in His body the Church. . . . Whence it follows that all the four offices, whereby God should be known and communicated, and which were centred in Jesus Christ, must still be exercised in His Church, and each by separate members. . . . Nor are these gifts which He received for men and gave to men impersonal influences, nor abstractions; but they are themselves living men, by whom the fulness which is in himself is by the operation of the Holy Ghost dispensed unto the Church; therefore saith the Apostle, "When He ascended up on high, He gave gifts unto men, and He gave some men apostles, and some men prophets, and some men evangelists, and some men pastors and teachers."

And again, they are not given for a time which hath already expired—the object to be attained by them hath not yet been accomplished; for the saints are not yet perfected; the work of the ministry hath not yet found its termination; the body of Christ is not yet edified; the whole people of God have not yet arrived in unity of faith unto the perfect man, the measure of the stature of Christ's fulness; the Church hath not as yet been prepared as a spotless virgin for the marriage of the Lamb. And until these ends be accomplished, and that which is perfect be come, the instruments of God's appointment for effecting them cannot be dispensed with, and ought not to be suspended in their operations.

[Thereafter the four ministries are described in succession, and

the true nature of the Church, the earthly body of Christ, as One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic, followed by a searching and arresting criticism and review of the history of Romanism and Protestantism.]

The Roman Catholic Church has aimed at the preservation of the Church's Unity, in her forms, constitution, and doctrine. . . . Protestantism is the history of the Church's effort to maintain the Life of God with which she was at first entrusted, and of the strugglings of a consciousness to the need of something beyond mere unity. . . . The one is the purchase of Unity at the expense of Life, the other the forfeiture of Life through despising the Church, the Body of the Lord, without which the Life, under the name of spirituality, is but a dream of mysticism. The evils embodied in the Protestant system exist because there is among the baptized the endeavour to maintain Life independently of the Church, the ordinance of God for that end. Those in the Papal system exist because there is the love of form with indifference to the Life. And thus the Papacy preferring the means before the end, and Protestantism seeking the end without the means, both fail of being true witnesses for God,—both tend to bring about and to exhibit the fallen and ruined condition of the baptized.

The effects consequent in the universal Church are such as we have described: ignorance and unholiness and superstition, in the first place, working their baneful influence, until the Church was seen oppressed under the sensual, profane, and venal condition presented in the centuries preceding the Reformation; and then from the long slumber under outward form during which the Life was fast ebbing all the while, the bursting forth of independence first, and then of the pervading spirit of schism. And when all these opposing but equally fatal principles have been together at work,—light and ignorance, self-sufficiency and superstitious prostration, lawlessness and priestcraft,—the inevitable result is Infidelity, which is more nearly allied to superstition on the one hand and religious enthusiasm on the other, than the prominent features of each would at first indicate. . . . While some of the Protestant bodies avoiding the kingship of the Pope have fallen into the priesthood of the King, avowedly submitting spiritual offices to his nomination, and suffering without protest the property of the Church to be seized by rapacious rulers as the price of obtaining their support; others have rejected the very notion of government in the universal Church, and have sought to emancipate each little knot and congregation

from all connection with any other, and, under the mask of Christian liberty and private judgment, have brought into states as well as into Churches the hatred of all rule and the rejection of all authority. Under the form of personal religion, and communion with the Head unseen, they rend without scruple His body, part His garments, and cast lots for His vesture; they set up the phantom of an invisible Church, and a mysterious unity, which does not even profess, like that of the Roman Catholic, to stand in the ordinances of God.

[The testimony ends with a warning forecast of the approaching crisis of anarchy in Church and State, and a prophetic adjuration to beware while there is time.]

The Catechism is based on the Anglican Catechism. Part I. in sixteen questions rehearses the Apostles' Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer. Part II. treats of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper in fifteen questions:—"A Sacrament is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us; ordained by Christ as a means whereby we receive the grace, and a pledge to assure us thereof." "The Eucharist is the great Memorial Sacrifice offered continually, in commemoration of the one oblation offered upon the Cross, once for all, by Jesus Christ; for herein we "do show forth His death till He come." And we present therein before God the Body and Blood of Christ broken and shed for us; even as Christ Himself, our High Priest in the heavens, appears before God as the Lamb as it had been slain." . . . "The Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed present in this Sacrament, and are spiritually received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." Part III., questions 32–63, sets forth the distinctive teaching of the Church upon the Church, God's witness co-ordinate with the Scriptures through the Holy Spirit: the four perpetual ministries of Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, and Pastors, the abiding gifts of the Spirit: ordination: the three principal orders in the Ministry, Angels or Bishops, Presbyters or Elders or Priests, and Deacons, and how each is to be regarded: the spiritual endowment of each: the power of absolution in the Church: unction

of the sick: payment of tithes: hours of daily worship, the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter Day, and Pentecost: and, finally, the ultimate end of all Services, Sacraments, and Ministries of the Church—

That we and all Christian people may be made perfect in holiness, and be prepared in one Body for the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ; when He shall be revealed from heaven in like manner as He went up, and the dead in Christ shall be raised, and we which are alive and remain to His coming shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we be ever with the Lord. And in this hope I say, "Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus."

II. THE NEW JERUSALEM, OR SWEDENBORGIAN CHURCH.

The New Jerusalem Church[1] took its rise in the revelation of the Swedish genius, Emmanuel Swedenborg, son of a Lutheran bishop, distinguished as an engineer, a scientist, and philosopher before, at the age of fifty-six, in 1739, he underwent a religious experience which changed the whole current of his life. "I was called," he says "to a holy office by the Lord, who most graciously manifested himself to me in person, and opened my sight to a view of the spiritual world, and granted me the privilege of conversing with spirits and angels. From that day forth I gave up all worldly learning, and laboured only in spiritual things according to what the Lord commanded me to write." And at the close of his work he could write: "I have been for thirty years in open communication, by the Lord's mercy, with the spiritual world." As in the Irvingite movement a century later, it was claimed that the fresh voice of prophecy had been heard and that the Lord of the Church had ordained new Apostles, so the New Church regards its originator as the person in whom the second

[1] See Swedenborg's Works, publications of the New Church, and articles in the *Encycl. Brit.*, Hauck-Herzog, and New Schaff-Herzog; A. Clissold, *Creeds of Athanasius, Sabellius, and Swedenborg, Compared*, Lond. 1873; J. Clowes, *Outlines of Swedenborg's Doctrines*, Lond. 1873; *Creed of the New Church*, Lond. 1883.

coming of the Spirit of Christ was realized, the recipient of the true key to Scripture and to the mysteries of universal religion, the seer whose eye was permitted to penetrate the veil which for other men clouds the spirit-world. His writings are thus a divine addition to the Canon of Scripture, able to make men wise unto salvation, dependent on the Scriptures, designed to be their interpreter, and, by means of a true "science of correspondences," to banish the errors concerning them which infest the Church and destroy its unity and efficiency, disclosing their true relation to science and to other religions, each of which involves a faith in God and a way of obedience to Him, and a hope for the hereafter with Him. Swedenborg was thus a pioneer of the new universalistic movement in modern Christendom which combined a return to the Scriptures and an effort to penetrate to their spirit and final truth with a faith in continued inspiration and revelation, with a frank appreciation of science and of comparative religion, with a missionary outlook across the whole world, and an eager insistence upon the unity of the Church, the nearness of the New Jerusalem, the City of God on earth and in heaven, the eternal kingdom of God here and hereafter. With a profound veneration for Jesus Christ as the Word Incarnate, and a faith in the Spirit of promise, he combined a Sabellian and Patripassian type of Trinitarian doctrine, merging the "three persons" in the attributes of Divine Love, Thought, or Wisdom, and energizing Power, and a view of the atonement as the reconciliation of man to God through God's assuming manhood in Christ and leading humanity above the material to the spiritual, from spiritual death to life. In regard to the resurrection from the dead he assumes no material or bodily element in the continued life.

An interesting and useful summary of the Faith of the New Jerusalem Church was submitted, at the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893, by the Rev. P. Mercer, Chairman of the Church's Committee of Representatives.[1] It is as follows :

[1] See Report, Lond. 1893, vol. ii. pp. 1488, 1489.

We worship the One God, who is the Infinite and Eternal Lover and Thinker and Doer, who has created human souls in such form and structure, that he may reveal himself to them, and recreate them into his image and likeness, and impart to them his goodness and wisdom, and the joy of his life.

We believe that this One God, who in the Absolute Man has revealed himself from the beginning, is the Heavenly Father; and that the streams of tradition proceeding from that revelation have kept alive a witness of him with every nation; and that all in any nation who look to him and live according to their religion are gathered and instructed in the spiritual world into the right knowledge of him, and protected in the spiritual and heavenly love and service of him.

We believe that all the just who have lived and died on earth are thus living in the spiritual world in the fuller knowledge and love of him, and that his spirit, flowing in through a heaven of such, conserves and vivifies all that remains of permanent value in any religion.

We believe that he has "at sundry times and in divers manners" given the revelation which is contained in the Holy Scriptures, so that it should be not only as a witness to him, "in whom is life, and whose life is the light of men," but the fountain of light to angels as well as men, and thus the means of light through heaven to the "ends of the earth, and to them that are afar off."

We believe that "the Word, which was with God and was God was made flesh and dwelt among us"; that he assumed our nature through the gate of birth, and came into the world, that he might live the Word, assert its power against evil spirits, subjugate the hells, and redeem men from their dominion.

We believe that in Jesus Christ he made his human nature Divine from the Divine in himself, and the visible God in whom is the invisible; and that completing the Holy Scripture by the record of his work and the promise of his final coming and kingdom, he fills it with his Spirit and operates all power by means of it in heaven and on earth.

We believe that the benefits of that redemption, and the quickening life and light of that Word, are extended through heaven and the world of spirits to all, "whosoever in any nation feareth God and worketh righteousness."

And we believe that, even as he promised to come again to men, he has accomplished his second advent in the opening

of the spiritual sense and Divine meaning of the written Word, through the human instrumentality of Emmanuel Swedenborg.

In the Book of Worship of the American Convention the following *Faith* is used :

We worship the one God, the Lord the Saviour, Jesus Christ ; in whom is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit ; whose humanity is Divine ; who for our salvation did come into the world and take our nature upon Him. He endured temptation even to the passion of the Cross. He overcame the hells and so delivered man. He glorified His Humanity by uniting it with the Divinity of which it was begotten ; so He became the Redeemer of the world, without whom no mortal can be saved. And they are saved who believe in Him and keep the Commandments of His word. This is His Commandment : That we love one another as He has loved us. Amen.

In the Liturgy, which is modelled on the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, the prayers and ascriptions are addressed to the Lord Jesus Christ as God instead of to the Father through Him or to the Trinity.[1]

III. THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE CHURCH.

The "First Church of Christ, Scientist," is the name assumed after reorganization in 1892 by the Church founded as early as 1879 by Mrs. Mary Baker Glover Eddy, a Congregationalist, in Boston, U.S.A.[2] "In the year 1866," she writes, "I discovered the Christ Science, or divine laws of Life, Truth, and Love, and named my discovery Christian Science. God had been graciously preparing me during many years for the reception of this final revelation of the absolute divine Principle of scientific mental healing." In 1875 she published *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*,[3] the text-book of mental healing, portions of which are read as lesson-sermons in the religious services

[1] Art. "New Jerusalem Church," in the New Schaff-Herzog.

[2] See art. "Christian Science," by C. L. Ramsay, in the *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics* ; and the publications of Mrs Eddy and of the Church.

[3] 94th ed., revised, 1895, Boston.

of the Church, and which embodies the principles and method of the conquest of disease through prayer and faith which she had discovered in her own experience. The *Church Manual*, containing the Tenets and By-Laws, was first issued by her in 1895, and contains the declaration: "The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Mass., is designed to be built on the Rock, Christ; even the understanding and demonstration of divine Truth, Life, and Love, healing and saving the world from sin and death; thus to reflect in some degree the Church Universal and Triumphant." The Church is designated "Scientist" as claiming to be the only form of Christian system which rests on positive demonstration, Scriptural and experimental. If Irvingism and Swedenborgianism revived apostolic gifts of revelation and prophetic utterance and authority in the Church, Christian Science concentrates its aim on the gift of healing, physical and spiritual. It repudiates all dependence upon hypnotism, theosophy, and mental suggestion. It claims to employ the self-same means which Christ used in healing the sick. It rests its claim upon Scripture warrant as well as experience. God is All-in-all: is Good: is Mind: is Spirit: Matter and all that we call evil or the seat of evil is illusion, unreal. All causation is mind, every effect is a mental phenomenon. Man is spirit, made in the image of God who is not material but spiritual. Disease, sin, evil, death, the negation of God, and good, and life, are fictions of the human mind, temporary obsessions which paralyse its true life. They cannot have come from God, the Author of all things. Sickness and sin are to be healed by every follower of Christ, who left as a test of discipleship the words, "And these signs shall follow them that believe: In my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover" (Mark xvi. 17 f.). The sole instrument is prayer to God, the unchanging Love from whom nothing but good and life have ever come. In communion with

Him sin and evil lose their reality in human consciousness, and disappear as naturally and as necessarily as darkness gives place to light. The mind which was in Christ, the self-surrendering will of Christ, is the abiding principle of salvation still. Jesus revealed the Christ, the eternal Spirit, was the spiritual idea of God incarnate, disclosed the science of celestial being. Divine Truth, Life, and Love gave Him authority over sin, sickness, and death. "It is the Truth revealed, the spiritual and eternal nature of God and man touching human consciousness, that takes away the sin of the world." The life of Jesus Christ is the universal pattern: to follow Him, one must take up his cross daily.

Though Christian Science repudiates all creeds or articles of faith, the Manual contains a statement of *Six Tenets*, whose subscription is obligatory on all candidates for membership, and which therefore in effect as well as in form constitute a Confession. They are a revision of *Five Tenets* submitted by Mrs. Eddy to the World's Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893.[1] The six Tenets are as follows:[2]

1. As adherents of Truths, we take the inspired Word of the Bible as our sufficient guide to eternal life.

2. We acknowledge and adore one supreme and infinite God. We acknowledge His Son, one Christ; the Holy Ghost or divine Comforter; and man in God's image and likeness.

3. We acknowledge God's forgiveness of sin in the destruction of sin and the spiritual understanding that casts out evil as unreal. But the belief in sin is punished so long as the belief lasts.

4. We acknowledge Jesus' atonement as the evidence of divine, efficacious Love, unfolding man's unity with God through Christ Jesus the Way-shower; and we acknowledge that man is saved through Christ, through Truth, Life, and Love as demonstrated by the Galilean Prophet in healing the sick and overcoming sin and death.

[1] See Report, p. 1423, Lond. 1893.

[2] *Church Manual*, p. 15; 1st ed. 1895: The Chr. Sc. Pub. Ho., Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

5. We acknowledge that the Crucifixion of Jesus and his resurrection served to uplift faith to understand eternal Life, the allness of Soul, Spirit, and the nothingness of matter.

6. And we solemnly promise to watch, and pray for that Mind to be in us which was also in Christ Jesus; to do unto others as we would have them do unto us; and to be merciful, just, and pure.

IV. THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints [1] is popularly known as the Mormon Church from its acceptance of the mysterious *Book of Mormon*, published in 1830 at Palmyra, N.Y., by the Prophet Joseph Smith, a Vermont farmer's son, at the time barely twenty-five years of age, who alleged that the plates of gold on which it had been engraved had been revealed and entrusted to him in 1827 by an angel, Moroni, whose father, Mormon, had made the record. The plates, he said, had been buried, A.D. 420, in the hill Cumorah, N.Y., by Moroni in the confidence that they would be preserved for the instruction of a later age. A "Urim and Thummim," a pair of magical spectacles, was conveniently provided for the translation of their "reformed Egyptian" characters. The Book [2] purports to be "an account written by the hand of Mormon upon plates taken from the plates of Nephi," and bears upon its title-page the explanatory motto:

"Wherefore it is an abridgment of the record of the people of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites; written to the Lamanites who

[1] See admirable and exhaustive articles with full bibliographies in *Encycl. Brit.*, and in the New Schaff-Herzog, on "Mormons," the latter by J. R. Van Pelt; *The Book of Mormon*, in many editions; *The Pearl of Great Price*, and other publications of the Church in Salt Lake City; W. A. Linn, *The Story of the Mormons . . . to 1901*, N.Y. 1902; *A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, by Joseph Smith (son of the Prophet) and Herman C. Smith (leaders of the Reorganized Church opposed to polygamy and seceding in 1844) Lamoni, Iowa, 1901; E. H. Anderson, *Brief History . . .*, 3rd ed., 1905, and J. E. Talmage, *Story of Mormonism*, repr. 1907, are approved by Mormons; E. D. Howe, *Mormonism Unveiled*, Painesville, Ohio, 1834, and Pomeroy Tucker, *Origin and Progress of the Mormons*, N.Y. 1867, are hostile.

[2] The Edition here used is the 5th European: Liverpool and London, 1854.

are a remnant of the House of Israel; and also to Jew and Gentile; written by way of commandment, and also by the spirit of prophecy and of revelation. Written and sealed up, and hid up unto the Lord, that they might not be destroyed; to come forth by the gift and power of God unto the interpretation thereof: sealed by the hand of Moroni, and hid up unto the Lord, to come forth in due time by the way of Gentile; the interpretation thereof by the gift of God.

"An abridgment taken from the Book of Ether also; which is a record of the people of Jared; who were scattered at the time the Lord confounded the language of the people when they were building a tower to get to Heaven; which is to show unto the remnant of the House of Israel what great things the Lord hath done for their fathers; and that they may know the covenants of the Lord that they are not cast off for ever; and also to the convincing of the Jew and Gentile that JESUS is the CHRIST, the ETERNAL GOD, manifesting himself unto all nations. And now if there are faults, they are the mistakes of men; wherefore condemn not the things of God, that ye may be found spotless at the judgment seat of Christ."

It is a bulky volume of more than five hundred and sixty pages, and contains a whole Testament of Apocryphal narratives, the Books of 1 and 2 Nephi, Jacob, Enos, Jarom, Omni, Words of Mormon, Mosiah, Zeniff, Alma, Helaman, Nephi (which records the Sign of the Crucifixion, and the coming of the risen Christ to the Lamanites in America to teach them and to bless them also, to ordain Twelve of their number, to institute Baptism and the Memorial Supper, and to bestow the Spirit), Mormon, Ether (which records the faith of the Brother of Jared who came forth with his language unconfounded from the Tower of Babel, to whom Jesus appeared, in flesh, declaring "I am the Father and the Son," and foretelling the future of his race, and who was instructed to build eight barges to transport him and his company across the great ocean three hundred and forty-four days to the land of promise, the great continent of the West), and finally a postscript Book by Moroni (in which there is set forth the manner in which the Disciples or Elders of the Church ordained Priests and Teachers, administered "the

flesh and blood of Christ" and baptism; the principles of Faith, Hope, and Charity in the Church; the continuance of miracles and of the ministry of Angels; the wrongfulness of the baptism of infants, who are not accountable, and who of themselves are alive in Christ from the foundation of the world, for "awful is the wickedness to suppose that God saveth one child because of baptism, and the other must perish because he hath no baptism"). Such is the book which the Latter-day Saints bracket in faith and worship with the Bible. The best that can be said for it is that more than a twentieth of its bulk consists of the Sermon on the Mount, and large extracts from Isaiah and other books in the Bible, passages which throw into painful relief the pseudo-Oriental style with its myriad repetitions of "and it came to pass" and its bogus proper names, the spiritual poverty, the commonplace imagination, and the all but unvarying dulness and confusion of the rest of this base-born Apocrypha of the New World. It will always remain a marvel of the inventive century to which it belongs that an illiterate youth, however morbid his mental inheritance, should have dictated in so brief a space of time a fiction so daring and presumptuous. That he was able forthwith to find followers and dupes is a pathetic testimony to the disordered religious condition, the superstitious spiritualism, the crude Scripturalism, the credulity and ignorance of a large section of the population of the United States during the early years of the century of its most rapid settlement and expansion. It has not been proved that Joseph Smith was not the author of the Book of Mormon. The Spaulding narrative from which it was averred the Book was taken has never been found. It seems, in any case, that Smith treated all his sources, Biblical or secular, alike. He wove them not as documents but from memory into a garrulous tissue of his own. His work betrays not only his own feverish imagination and the crude ideas of his random education, but the notions current in the circles in which his early life was spent. His receptive brain gave shelter to a motley company of ideas drawn from Calvinism and

the Westminster Confession, from Methodism, from Romanism, from Baptist doctrine, from Freemasonry, even from Mohammedanism, and later from the Catholic Apostolic system—a welter of heterogeneous elements corresponding to the flux of doctrinal systems which was necessarily found in a mixed emigrant population beyond the control and guidance of its ancestral Churches and their trained ministers. He owed his success, however, far less to his stock of revelations or of doctrine, than to his self-confidence, his knowledge of the human nature which surrounded him, his insight into its weaknesses and its needs, his unscrupulous leadership, and, finally, his persecution and martyrdom. Mormonism was no product of a scholar's study, or of a settled people, but of rough mother-wit in a rough land and people, out of real touch with the Bible, impatient of control from beyond the Continent, welcoming with a species of perverted patriotism a native American Book of Scriptures, and going "back of" the New Testament itself and all traditional ecclesiastical authority to a primitive Church and an Apostolic organization and endowment of its own. Democracy, anarchy, and tyranny blend in this strange theocracy. Their great thought is that Revelation never ceases: the Bible has to be supplemented not only by its American counterpart, the Book of Mormon, but by the oracles which proceed by inspiration (*a*) from the individual's own soul regarding personal matters of faith and life, (*b*) from the President or Chief Apostle, after or without consultation with his apostolic assessors, on all ecclesiastical and general matters. Thus it is peculiarly difficult to formulate the present-day system of the Latter-day Saints, in which the simplicity of the faith of Joseph Smith has been overlaid with allegorical and polytheistic mysteries, as, *e.g.*, regarding the deity of Adam, "the only God with whom we have to do." God is corporeal. All things are begotten, not created. In many points there is a striking identity with Irvingism, including belief in the near approach of the Advent, in a revived Apostolate and in apostolic charisms, in the restoration

of the Tribes of Israel, in literal Tithes for the Church, and in a ceremony of "sealing." They maintain the universal priesthood of believers either after the higher order of Melchizedec or after the lower order of Aaron, the continuance of prophetic gifts and of healing by faith and prayer, baptism not earlier than at the age of eight, baptism of the dead "by proxy," celestial or "sealed" marriage which is indissoluble for time and eternity. Polygamy, though not avowed by Joseph Smith, who had certainly no personal scruples regarding it, and not sanctioned by the Book of Mormon, became the rule under his successor Brigham Young, and was suppressed, under protest, only by the strong arm of the U.S. legislature. The ascetic side of Mormonism is seen in its prohibition of tobacco, of alcohol, and, save in wintry weather or in famine, of flesh meat. The Communion wine used is unfermented. In addition to the Bible and the Book of Mormon, the *Book of Doctrine and Covenants* by Smith, *The Pearl of Great Price* (an anthology from Smith's writings), and *A Word of Wisdom* are authoritative manuals.

It may be of interest to quote, as a summary of primitive Mormon doctrine, a group of *Thirteen Articles* by Joseph Smith, written soon after the constitution of the Church at New York in 1840 :

1. We believe in God the Eternal Father, and in His Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

2. We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression.

3. We believe that through the atonement of Christ, all mankind may be saved, by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel.

4. We believe that these ordinances are : (i.) Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ ; (ii.) Repentance ; (iii.) Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins ; (iv.) Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.

5. We believe that a man must be called of God, by "prophecy and by the laying on of hands," by those who are in authority, to preach the Gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.

6. We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive Church, viz. apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, etc.

7. We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc.

8. We believe the Bible to be the word of God, as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God.

9. We believe all that God has revealed, all that He does now reveal, and we believe that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.

10. We believe in the literal gathering of Israel, and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes: That Zion will be built upon this Continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisic glory.

11. We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may.

12. We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, magistrates, in obeying, honouring, and sustaining the law.

13. We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to *all men*; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul: "We believe all things, we hope all things"; we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek after these things.[1]

[1] Quoted in *Religious Systems of the World*, London and N.Y. 1889, pp. 658–659.

CHAPTER XXII.

GENERAL RETROSPECT.

THE BROADER FEATURES OF THE HISTORY.

OUR descriptive survey of the long history of Creeds and Confessions of Faith is now completed. We have endeavoured not only to trace the chief stages by which the Christian world has reached its present complex confessional position, and to characterize the principal types and forms in which ecclesiastical dogma has found expression, but also to furnish the reader, of whatever religious denomination he may chance to be, with extensive and strictly representative quotations from the authoritative documents, so that he may be enabled to receive some personal impression, and form some personal judgment, of their distinctive genius and worth. There is in truth great need in our time, both for the student of theology and for the general Christian public, of reliable and compendious information regarding the doctrinal differences which mark the Churches of Christendom. It is as much a pre-requisite of Christian reunion as of just and competent criticism that the advocates of one system should really understand the religious principles and the doctrinal convictions for which their neighbours in other systems contend, and by which they have lived. Few Christian scholars, and few Churchmen, can pass through a busy life without having made the painful and disconcerting discovery that through unconscious ignorance they have failed to do simple justice to some sister Church or some rival Theology. It is always easier as an apologist to be on the alert to discover the weak points in other creeds and organizations than to acquire and maintain the reformer's faculty of seeing faults that

are inherent in one's own. Perhaps this volume, condensed and summary though it has had to be in order to keep within the bounds of popular accessibility, may serve, however modestly, to promote a better understanding among Christian thinkers and workers, and to remind them that under all the diversities of faith and government which divide the surface of Christendom, and sometimes seem to strike down to the very foundations, there is a common basis of believing loyalty, a common intent to obey and to serve the same Lord according to the dictates of His Spirit, whose gifts have always been manifold.

But, though this survey is completed, even the most impatient reader will look for some concluding reflections upon Creeds and Confessions of Faith as they appear to-day, and as they appeal to present-day judgment. The historian's task has been ill performed if he has been able to learn nothing from his exploration of the past for the guidance of the time in which he lives and the time which is to come. The concluding chapters of this book, accordingly, are devoted to a retrospect over the history which has been traversed, and to a discussion of some of the problems which Creeds and Confessions of Faith present to every age and every institution which employs them in the service of Religion.

The beginnings of the Christian Creed, we have seen, like the beginnings of the Christian Religion whose faith it essays to utter in a set form of words, are traceable to ancient Israel. In the sacred formula, *Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God, the Lord is one*, the voice of explicit religious confession was first recorded. Around it there gathered the hallowed associations of patriarchal, prophetic, and priestly history, the Book of the Law and the Prophets, the Ten Words of the Law, and the Great Sacraments and Ceremonies. It was the hereditary and the ritual Creed of Jesus and His first disciples, a bond between them and their persecutors. It became the Creed of the Gentile proselytes who were baptized and circumcised into Israel. It was the precedent and exemplar for the earliest

distinctive formulations of the Church. "I believe in *One* God" was long the exordium of the Apostles' Creed, rebuking the polytheism of the nations, and condemning the Marcionite and Gnostic distinction of a God and Demiurge of the Old Dispensation from the God and Father of Jesus Christ in the New. Though Trinitarian controversy and the scruples of the self-assertive orthodoxy which it evolved dispensed with the attribute of unity in the first clause of the Church's favourite Creed, and limited the essential Fatherhood of God more and more to the Eternal Son, the Hebrew monotheistic formula was presupposed alike by the Christian and the Mohammedan Creeds. Had it been more obviously retained, and less jealously subordinated to the complex theologies of the third and fourth centuries, it may be that the founder of Islam would have been content to become a convert to the Christian Church whose Lord he deeply reverenced. From the first, so deep a personal impression on the minds of the disciples was made by the sublime transcendent personality of Jesus, so perfectly did He fulfil the highest hopes and promises of ancient Israel, so wondrously did His teaching and His suffering realize the deeper and neglected aspects of the Christ of prophecy, so completely did His life-work transform and transfigure the doctrines of Hebrew religion concerning God, His righteousness, His kingdom, and His love, that by a just and true instinct the heart of Christian faith throbbed with a passion to avow Him as one with God, to link His name for ever with the name of the Father whom He had declared and disclosed. The confession of Peter, *Thou art the Christ, Son of the Living God*, was in truth the first and typical expression of the faith on which, as on a rock, the Church of Christ was destined to stand founded, proof against all assaults. Although Jesus Himself neither baptized with water,—it was for other hands to baptize in His name,—nor prescribed a profession of faith any more than a form of worship or a form of government, He explicitly approved that first impetuous confession from the lips of the disciple who in

his character and actions was a singularly prophetic embodiment of the future Church, its mingled faith and unbelief, its mingled courage and timidity, its mingled insight and dulness of perception, its mingled impulsive love and narrowness of mind, its proneness to prejudice, to materialistic methods and resources in defence of the faith, to literalistic misunderstandings of spiritual truths. If to the risen Lord the faith of the early Church devoutly traced the impulse and command to baptize its converts not simply in token of their penitence and death to sin, nor merely in the name of God the Father, but definitely into the name of Christ and through Him also of Father and Holy Spirit, the same faith could also trace to the day of Peter's memorable declaration the express sanction and acknowledgment of the form of words he used, and could appeal to the comment of the Lord: "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." Peter's Confession, which, after examination of the New Testament, Thomas Hobbes, the philosopher, found to be the only form it authorized, is the true and only *Apostles' Creed* in the strict sense of the expression, not simply apostolic in itself but on the Master's own view divinely inspired. Paul's *Jesus is Lord*, and John's *Jesus is the Christ*, are but variants of Peter's utterance already become current forms in the primitive Church. The earliest Gentile name for believers, the term *Christians* coined at Antioch, shows that from the first it was recognized that the distinctive note of Christian profession was not simply following Jesus but owning Him Christ, being baptized literally into His name. Thus faith in God as One and as the Father Almighty was immediately supplemented by faith in Jesus as the Christ His unique Son, and by the same divine intuition there was inevitably added to the formula faith in that Holy Spirit whose descent with in-breathed power was the primary distinction of the new baptism, marking it off from that of the Fore-runner, and was the divine energy at work within the Church, constituting its various

ministries and bestowing its manifold gifts. As time moved on, and the Faith, expelled by Jewish unbelief, yet also impelled by missionary vocation, passed out into the Gentile world, its apostolic Formula swiftly accommodated itself to the requirements of a new and less enlightened community. Its three fundamental clauses grew by incorporation of the simple elemental affirmations of the Gospel preached with one accord throughout the apostolic Churches. The familiar facts of Jesus' birth, suffering, and death on the Cross under Pilate, and burial, the familiar assurance of His resurrection and ascension to the place of highest honour beside the Majesty on High, the familiar expectation of His return as Judge, the recognition that He was a man, born of an earthly mother, virgin though she was, while also Christ and unique Son of God, were additions to the second clause as natural and appropriate as they were Scriptural. More slowly and hesitatingly the third clause drew to itself explicit affirmations of the elements of Christian experience,—the forgiveness of sins and the religious fellowship of sanctified believers in this world, resurrection and eternal life in the world to come,—and of the one hallowed society in which believers throughout the world were united. Controversy, and a purpose of excluding unwarranted or unwelcome interpretations, lay behind many even of these simple elements of faith and tradition, just as to-day they appear to have very various values to different orders of mind, but the Age and the Church which accepted as canonical and true the Books of the New Testament could not but accept as equally canonical and true a Symbol which drew its materials so obviously from their sacred pages. The primitive Creed thus expanded was as apostolic as the New Testament collection; each is a compilation by later hands of the work of apostolic hands; each can be interpreted, accepted, or rejected, only on the same terms and in the same sense as the other; each contains the other's language, scheme of redemptive agency, and spiritual outlook. But Jesus neither wrote the New Testament nor sanctioned the developed Apostles' Creed.

Venerable and precious as each is, it comes short of His precise authority: its words are not literally His, though His Spirit breathes through them. The whole Christian world can echo Peter's confession *ex animo*, and adore the Triune Name as set forth in the apostolic writings, but there is no evidence or prospect that it will ever accept and construe with one mind the twelve clauses of the Apostles' Creed or the parent pages of the New Testament. It is something, however, that the Lord's own appointed form of prayer, and His accepted form of confession, are universally cherished and unreservedly maintained throughout the whole of Christendom.

When the Church of the unfettered and autonomous Bishoprics and Patriarchates passed at the bidding of the first Christian Cæsar into the Church of the legislative Councils, and the Church's Creed was recast for disciplinary and theological ends by the votes of representative Synods of, for the most part, Greek bishops, a new order of Symbol emerged. The ancient Creeds of Cæsarea and Jerusalem, unlike that of Rome, which adhered to the simpler type and, with the additions just considered, became the familiar Apostles' Creed of the Western Churches, were transformed into the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds so as to exclude from office in the Church the advocates of Arian and other repudiated views of the Person of Christ and the Triunity of God, Christians who, however mistaken in their speculations, were sincerely able to accept every word of the older Creeds. The path of doctrinal legislation and coercion once entered upon, the Church of course must needs advance yet further along it, each step, as was inevitable, being attended by schism, the price which majorities must pay for the relentless exercise of their power, and the natural refuge of oppressed minorities. The Decree of Chalcedon, and later the addition of Toledo, thus rent the Church twice over, driving the Oriental Churches into separation, and promoting the division of ecclesiastical Europe into Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic.

Alongside of the formation of the Creeds of the Councils which in Gordian fashion cut the knot of theological controversy and introduced non-Scriptural phraseology into the Symbol of Christian Faith, there proceeded the growth of the *Gloria* into the *Gloria in Excelsis* and finally into the *Te Deum Laudamus*, and of the *Quicunque Vult*. The *Te Deum*, like the Apostles' Creed, retains a Scriptural simplicity of language, and is a noble rendering of the Creed in lyric form for the praise-service of the Church. The *Quicunque Vult* gathers up in quasi-lyric stanzas the theological contents of the Conciliar Symbols, achieving thereby a laboured harmony of the didactic faith.

Thus by the end of the seventh century the so-called Catholic or Œcumenical Creeds had assumed the forms in which they have come down to us. Sacred as the Church has deemed them, and highly as it has valued them as bonds of unity and defences of the Faith, they bear the marks of free handling, and became occasions of dissension. Their very titles reveal a certain wilfulness and pretension in their adoption. The *Apostles' Creed* is not the Creed of the Apostles: the *Nicene Creed* is not the Creed of Nicæa but the Creed of Constantinople, based on the Creed of Jerusalem, reinforced by elements from Nicæa, Chalcedon, and Toledo: the *Athanasian Creed* is not the Creed of Athanasius, but the anonymous composition of Gallic orthodoxy at least a century later than the champion of the Nicene Faith. Nor is one of them in its current form strictly Catholic or Œcumenical, for the Greek Orthodox Church gives no dogmatic sanction to the *Quicunque Vult*, the *Apostles' Creed*, or the *Te Deum*, and denounces the form of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed which is current in the West, while in the Churches beyond the Greek and Roman pale there is every conceivable variety of attitude towards each and all of them. The application to them, therefore, of the title of catholicity and œcumenicity, involves a similar kind, though not perhaps an equal degree, of pious exaggeration to that which is inherent in

its use in the official designations of the great Churches of the East and West.

Outwardly at least the Middle Ages left no impression upon the Creeds of Christendom, but were preoccupied with the consolidation of the organized communion of the faithful, the firm settlement of the national Churches in their territories, the practical adjustment of the mutual relations of civil and religious authority. Such free thinking as there was among the Schoolmen or among the Mystics and Pietists of the time deferred consistently to the authority of the Creeds. The conquest of European barbarism, and the conflict with Islam, were tasks so grave as to call for the united energies of Christendom and promoted a sense of discipline. The elaboration of the Ecclesiastical Calendar and Ritual, the creation of the Monastic Orders, the systematizing of the Church's Law and Doctrine, the perfecting of its Hierarchy, and the working out of its great Architectural and Decorative Styles, gave ample scope to the domestic energies of the Christian world. But the tyranny of system was carried too far. In the eleventh century the Iconoclastic dispute combined with the jealousy of the Patriarchates and the *Filioque* difference in doctrine to disrupt the East and West, and therewith to relax the formal discipline of the Church, just as, later, the spectacle of rival Popes was in itself an incentive to revolt. Moreover, in proportion to the very success of Church and Empire in organizing the religious life of the Christian world, in promoting a general knowledge of Biblical history, and in establishing national Churches and Universities, there grew the certainty of an ultimate independence in thought and life which would not grovel before authority. The progress of geographical and scientific discovery, the rediscovery of Greek Art and Literature and Philosophy in the West which followed the fall of Constantinople,the awakening of national consciousness in the subject peoples, the spread of Scripture study, the individualistic impulses of Mysticism, the economic burden of clerical and monastic and Papal establishments, led in concert to the overthrow of the Roman

system in the hour of its highest pride and utmost outward splendour. The fourteenth and fifteenth century revolts associated with Wyclif in England and with Waldensian, Bohemian, and Anabaptist Brotherhoods on the Continent, were followed by the vast upheaval of the sixteenth century, and a new and unprecedented era of dogmatic formulation was ushered in.

In the century of the Reformation, intense as was the spirit of national and individual independence, and spontaneous as the stirrings of new life were, there was singularly little of anarchy and unreason in the doctrinal systems that emerged from the catastrophic confusion. With one accord and without exception the resultant divisions of the shattered Church were loyal to the Apostles' Creed. With the exception of the Socinian and some Anabaptist Churches, all clung to the other Ancient Creeds also, equally with the Greek and the Roman Churches. Every branch of the Church Reformed, including the Socinian and Anabaptist, acknowledged the sole authority of Holy Writ, exclusive of the Apocrypha, and recognized, though with varying practical fidelity, the superiority of the New Testament to the Old, in this particular the Socinian and Lutheran most vividly. Every variety of Church government, and every scheme of ministry that could be harmonized with the usage of the Church in the New Testament, were employed, from Anglican Episcopacy to the Anabaptist Congregationalism which dispensed with a settled ministry in favour of the literal priesthood of all believers. Every possible conception of the efficacy and meaning and administration of the Sacraments, from the Lutheran to the Zwinglian and the Socinian, was entertained. Every imaginable relationship between Church and State, from the Erastianism of England and Lutheran Germany to the stern independence and parity of the Calvinist and Anabaptist ideals, was adopted. The Scriptural references to election and predestination and the eternal decree of God, to the fall and the free-will of mankind, were variously interpreted and developed. But

it was not in any province of doctrine already explored and delimited by the great Creeds that the sixteenth century fought its battles, issued its manifestos, and drew up its concordats. The supreme issue was soteriological. How is fallen man forgiven, justified, saved? How is the salvation purchased by the Redeemer appropriated and made effectual in the experience of the individual soul? All other doctrine was ancillary, whether it concerned the elective decree that must have preceded the sending of the Son and the Spirit, or the Scriptures that disclosed the way, or the Sacraments that sealed and sustained the gift, or the Church that cherished all the means and fostered the experience. Rome had become Pharisaic and Scribal in its insistence upon law and order and ritual and obedience. It had made religion a toil, and life burdensome. It had magnified the need and use of heavenly and earthly mediation. It had made the outward Church the first article in its working Creed, it had flung fetters upon the Holy Spirit, it had practically interposed Mary and the Saints as well as the clergy between Christ and His redeemed, and the Father in Heaven was left remoter still. It had tried to keep a swiftly growing group of strong peoples in leading strings, instead of developing their religious manhood. Their eyes were suddenly opened to its abuse of parental power, its hollow claims, its shallow experience, its essential unbelief. Their souls awoke to an insatiable craving for the direct Word of God, for immediate communion with the Eternal Father and the Saviour Son. What mattered Saints and Virgin-Mother and relics, priests and monks, stately temples, altar, plate, sumptuous vestments, and magnificent ceremonial to men who had become aware of such imperious needs? Under the guidance of an unsophisticated reading of the New Testament, they formed fresh personal impressions of the Way of Salvation through Christ, and based on them their whole conception of the scheme of Christian Truth. Of the Confessions of this first age of the Reformation, the Lutheran and Anglican are the most conservative and

the least learned, the most simple and artless; the Calvinist and Socinian are the most learned and logical, the most deliberate and thorough, as was not unnatural in the most Humanistic and the last matured of the series. By 1564, less than half a century from the date of Luther's Theses, there had been completed not only the primary Confessions of the Waldensian, Bohemian and Anabaptist Brethren, and of the Lutheran, Anglican, Zwinglian and Calvinistic Churches, but the answering Confession of the Roman Catholic Church, drawn up at Trent, which consolidated and standardized the dogmatic, sacramental, and ecclesiastical system of the mediaeval Church in the uncompromising spirit of the Jesuit Counter-Reformation.

During the century and a quarter which followed the completion of the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Zwinglian systems, and the framing of the primary Lutheran and Calvinistic standards, the making of confessions still proceeded apace within those latter Churches, but their spirit and purpose had changed. The life and death struggle with Rome having terminated, the energies of Lutheran, Anglican, and Calvinistic theologians were devoted to systematic, Biblical, and speculative theology, and to sectarian ends. The age of Protestant Scholasticism set in, and innumerable treatises of vast learning, controversial acumen, but scanty inspiration, appeared. The Greek Church, pricked by the Protestant activities of the Patriarch Cyril Lucar, awoke from its slumber and issued a series of elaborate Confessions, hostile to the distinctive Protestant and Roman claims and tenets, but clearly disclosing its essential harmony with the latter type of religious thought. The Roman Church busied itself with carrying on the work of Trent, completing its service-books and catechisms, and emitting learned counterblasts to Protestant systems. In the Lutheran Churches the bitter recriminations of the theological schools at length gave place to the Formula of Concord and the final statement of Lutheran orthodoxy. In the Anglican Church the Puritan Calvinistic movement ran its course, producing

the Lambeth and Irish Articles, inspiring the Westminster Confession and Catechisms, but failing to alter or displace permanently the Elizabethan Articles. Scotland assisted to produce the Westminster standards, and gave them a home. Holland, at the summit of its power, gave voice to the Arminian Remonstrance, but crushed its plea for the mitigation of the rigour of Calvinistic dogma at the Synod of Dort. Switzerland gave Calvinism its last Confessional utterance on the Continent in the Helvetic Consensus Formula, which negatived the similar plea of the Amyraldist theologians of Saumur. The Baptist and Congregational Churches became a power in America as well as in Britain, and defined their positions mainly on a Calvinistic basis. Socinianism expressed its New Testament rationalism in the Racovian Catechism. And in the latter half of the seventeenth century the Quaker movement with its individualistic Articles and Catechisms was the harbinger of later changes.

In the eighteenth century, science and philosophy, aided by the reaction which inevitably followed the age of controversy, tested the very foundations of Christian dogma of every school and Church. Scarcely a new Confession appeared throughout it. The spirit of the time was critical, not constructive. Ethical, rather than doctrinal, discussion was in favour. Christian dogma underwent a wholesome and needed process of prolonged examination and self-scrutiny. The Wesleyan Revival alone broke the icy spell, and brought warmth and life and intense conviction into popular religion. But even Methodism, critical of the accepted Calvinism as it was, had no ambition to add to the confessional literature of Christendom, and was content to revise the English Articles. The Swedish Lutheranism gave birth to Swedenborg and his New Church and Revelation. Calvinism produced no other Confessions than a few American Revisions of the Westminster Standards for use in the Baptist, Congregational, and Presbyterian Churches. The completion of the Moravian Litany, the preparation of Platon's Russian

Catechism, and the *Exposition of the Faith of the Catholic Church* by Bossuet, are the only other outstanding dogmatic contributions of the century.

Since the nineteenth century began, doctrine has shared with Church and Missionary life in the quickening of activity which has been characteristic of the period. Every branch of theological scholarship has been explored, every standpoint of research and criticism adopted, well-nigh every possible doctrinal and ecclesiastical combination tried. It is as though the age lived through the experience of all its forerunners since the Reformation, taking none of their achievements for granted without fresh verification. A resolute return to Scripture, a vast extension of scientific and geographical information, a new appreciation of Classical literature and life, an overwhelming access of new knowledge of ancient History, a strong current of national self-consciousness, amazing facilities for popular education and for international intercourse, a fresh realization of the unity of mankind and of the imperial mission of the Christian Faith, these are but a few of the endowments of the New Age which have affected the course of Christian doctrine. On the whole the Confessional activities of the period have been reconstructive rather than creative or constructive, for there has been a striking arrest of aggressive self-confidence, a spirit of sober self-criticism, an openness of mind and a spiritual candour almost without precedent in Christian history. Men have become increasingly empirical and eclectic in religion. Prejudices have been shattered. Serious and deliberate indifference to distinctions once counted fundamental is widespread. No Church, even the most narrow and exclusive, has been able to resist all influence from its neighbours. No Church, even the most conservative, has been able to beat back the inroads of change. The masses that have advanced in education and in general civilization and leisure have correspondingly lost docility. The lay mind makes itself felt not only in ecclesiastical policy but even in doctrinal discussion, indirectly if not directly.

Facilities of travel from country to country are paralleled by facilities of transference from one communion to another. The quick step of the time is impatient of the ponderous opinions of the great ages of Confessional formulation, even when it does not revolt against their convictions. If the modern world is critical of Holy Writ, indifferent to great part of the Old Testament, and discriminating in its acceptance of the letter of the New, it were childish to expect it to be very tender to the handiwork of a period, however stirring and glorious, which is removed but a few generations from our own. Every change in our interpretation of the Bible inevitably involves a change in our attitude to the contents of theological systems which had for their only aim to condense and epitomize its statements unquestioningly. Every enlargement of our retrospect over the history of the race to which we belong, and of the globe which we inhabit, and of the universe whose immensities surround us, brings with it a chastening of our reliance upon assertions of detail in doctrine and upon our lesser points of difference. In spite of the pitiable insecurity of the goodwill of Christian nations which still humiliates the religious sentiment of earnest souls, there is a manifest increase of international and interdenominational fraternity in face of the great common adversaries, without and within the Christian world, materialistic unbelief and irreligious indifference on the one hand, the vast and long-established resources of the ancient Eastern Religions on the other. It is hard to realize how recently "I believe in the duty of Missions to the Heathen" found entry into the religious standards of the modern Church. It is painful to observe the reluctance with which the sister clause, "I believe in the duty of love towards my fellow-Christians of other persuasions and other followings," is permitted to plead its claim to be received into the working faith of the Churches. The exuberant energy, the experimental curiosity, and the robust independence of the nineteenth century, especially in Britain and America, gave rise to an extraordinary

profusion of new sects emerging from almost every one of the established types of ecclesiastical life and organization; but each was born with an apology upon its lips, each hastened to advance a plea for reunion, for doctrinal simplification, for a livelier faith in the present guidance of the Holy Spirit, each aimed at filling a gap rather than encroaching upon already settled territories. Within the older Churches, although their Confessions have been taken down from the dusty shelf to which the eighteenth century serenely or frowningly consigned them, and their leaves have never ceased to rustle at the touch of scrupulous or censorious fingers, there has been much talk of change, great longing for new standards, but in the end a general diffidence and unwillingness to attempt fresh utterance, and a preference for the humbler alternatives of restating or revising the old forms, or by some simple declaration indicating that they are retained with reservations. "Great cry, little wool!" might be fair comment on the dogmatic activities of the past century, even in the Roman Catholic Church, which, with much outward pomp and circumstance, but with no little inward misgiving, gave final sanction to the already current faith in the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility. But the changes wrought in such an age cannot be measured by the temporizing official statements which the times have wrung from it. They are not the less thorough because they find gradual and halting acknowledgment. If they alarm us little, it is because they are accompanied by an unwavering appreciation of the worth and essential authority of Christ and the Book He inspired, and by a serious and sympathetic appreciation of the historical significance and the theological value of the traditional Symbols. The more we know of the conditions and circumstances and occasion of their formulation, and the more justly we judge them in the light of the scholarship, ideals, and limitations of their time, the more we are able with a good conscience to do them homage with our hearts as well as with our lips, deferring to them not simply because they

are ancient and it is natural to do reverence to age and to the relics of our sires, not merely because the iron of their robust convictions has passed into our own life-blood and braced our character and intellect, but most of all because we have learned their essential fidelity to the truth as their authors conceived it, and their essential harmony with the truth as it still reveals itself, arrayed in new language and invested with fresh symbols, to the living mind of to-day.

CHAPTER XXIII.

REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORY.

CREEDS and Confessions thus call up to the imagination of the thinker who is endowed with the historic sense and is aware of the immeasurableness of the debt which the present owes to the sacred past, a vista of undaunted effort and unresting achievement. It is a long pilgrimage from the prevailing Confessions of to-day, from the Decrees of Trent, the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Augsburg, Helvetic, and Westminster Confessions, to the Creeds which assumed their final shape as the Age of the Fathers was verging to the Age of the Schoolmen, and from those Creeds to the broken utterances of the first Disciples. Can it be that the Christian world must retrace its steps, and write "Vanity of vanities—all is vanity!" over its long journey in quest of a perfect form of words in which to enshrine the Truth as it is in Jesus Christ its Lord? The long toil, the travel-weariness, would doubtless not have been in vain, were it convinced at last after such ample experiment that the words of the first recognition of the Christ remain still the best form of testimony to faith, revealed as it was by the Eternal Father through the indwelling Spirit, and welcomed by the Son. But Creeds and Confessions, we have seen, have many uses, serve many wholesome ends, besides direct confession to the Object of man's faith. Misused they have been, set up as things beyond reach of storm and weather, set apart and shielded from the hand of change, cherished like fetich heirlooms by a superstitious awe. If they were intended to unite mankind, they have too often separated. If they were planned to compel conformity, they have too often bred sophistry

and insincerity. Claiming to be summaries of Revelation, they have been but traditions of men. Offering to mankind the truth which should set them free, they have been not seldom a yoke, depressing their upward glance in search of heavenly things, breaking their spirit, and impeding their progress. Yet, notwithstanding, as the Law was our Schoolmaster to prepare us for the Gospel and to bring us to Christ, Creeds and Confessions at their sternest, their narrowest, their most negative and forbidding, were instruments of great value, temporary moulds of thought, training their users in the employment of their faculties for the expression of eternal Truth. Closer acquaintance with them deepens respect and sympathy. Their study is a valuable corrective of the individualism of our time, reminding us that Christian doctrine is developed by the co-operation and experience of mass-movements as well as by the genius of religious teachers. Their history constitutes in itself a stupendous fact, a phenomenon quite unparalleled in the religious world, a striking evidence of the unique power of the personality, life, and teaching of Jesus Christ, operating through Scripture and through Christian experience, to stir the human intellect to its depths. He warned His hearers that, if He brought peace and goodwill to earth, He also brought a sword, and that households would be divided because of Him ; and the Household of the Faith has been no exception to the prophecy. The very divisions of Christendom—allow what we may for human wilfulness in their creation—are a proof of the intensity and consuming earnestness with which the Christian revelation has been investigated, a proof of its commanding and unremitting appeal to the mind to think it out to its uttermost conclusions, to penetrate its innermost recesses. Could anything more vividly confirm the abiding mission of the Gospel to humanity and the essential fitness of human nature for the Gospel of Christ, than a response in every age and land so instant and so eager to its call for serious reflection ? The crime of men has been, not that they differed in their estimates of Christian truth, for Heaven

has evinced far less concern for uniformity than Earth, but that, differing conscientiously, they suffered differences of honest judgment to inflame their angry passions, stooped to employ foul means for the realization of the fair vision of Christian unity, and forgot their Master's statement that His disciples' love to one another would be needed to convince the world that His mission was divine. As Erasmus, a contemplative spectator of the process, perhaps too calm and philosophic, wrote in his Preface to Hilary: "The Christian Creed began to reside in writings rather than in men's minds, and there were well nigh as many faiths as there were men. Articles grew but sincerity declined. Contention boiled over, charity was frozen. The doctrine of Christ, a stranger formerly to battles over words, came to be made dependent on defences of philosophy. This was the first downward step towards the ruin of the Church. At last it came to sophistical contentions: thousands of articles of faith rushed into publicity." Of course it is not easy to respect a theological antagonist as one ought, because religious conviction means so much, and we resent what inevitably throws doubt upon our own: at least it comes natural to few to do it; and the heavy work of reformation in this world has generally to be done by strong men of robust fibre and ungentle touch. Bullinger, who shared Melanchthon's cloistered and academic spirit, could humorously complain of Luther that it was his way to send to the Devil all who differed from him, and Erasmus could remonstrate with the great Reformer, to whom his heart went out though his head refused to follow, writing as if Luther's opponents were dispassionate thinkers, and a monk were free to argue with the Vatican, and as if Luther's very life were not at stake: "I think courtesy to opponents is more effective than violence. Old institutions cannot be uprooted in an instant. Quiet argument may do more than wholesale condemnation." "Reduce the number of dogmas to a minimum"; wrote Erasmus to the Archbishop of Maintz, "you can do it without harm to Christianity. On other points leave

everybody free to believe as he pleases." He deemed "every definition a misfortune." "Why should we narrow the profession of Christ when He willed that it should be most broad?" "I would not adulterate the divine philosophy of Christ with human decrees. Let Christ remain where He is, the centre." But Luther, a son of the people, able to read their hearts and appreciate their needs, could retort: "Christians need certainty, definite dogmas, a sure word of God, which they can trust to live and die by. For such a certainty Erasmus cares not." The leisured scholar must always have a care lest he misjudge the motives and the spirit of the churchman whose thinking, if done at all, is done in daily contact with human nature, and whose teaching instinctively, and perhaps unconsciously, assumes a form by which it is accommodated to lowly and uncritical intelligences, and fitted to seize their imagination, and so influence their character and conduct. Creeds and Confessions, be it remembered as a first principle of their interpretation, have never yet been the playthings or luxuries or refinements of religious scholarship. They have not always been fashioned by the best scholars or the most judicious minds of their age and Church. They are essentially documents intended for popular instruction, like the Books of Holy Writ themselves, and as such even the most theological of them must be judged. It is little wonder, therefore, if they provoke unrest and resentment first among the clergy and the highly educated laity. The people at large, for whom they primarily were intended, can never be bound to them tightly, and, even if they could, they would examine them less scrupulously.

In the long history of Creeds and Confessions it is impossible to ignore the influence of the genius of the successive dominant Christian peoples in shaping their form. They reflect the character of the civilization which surrounded them, for, as Edwin Hatch has written,[1] "the religion of a given race at a given time is relative to the whole mental

[1] *Hibbert Lectures, 1888*, Lond. 1904, pp. 2, 3.

attitude of that time. It is impossible to separate the religious phenomena from the other phenomena, in the same way that you can separate a vein of silver from the rock in which it is embedded. They are as much determined by the general characteristics of the race as the fauna and flora of a geographical area are determined by its soil, its climate, and its cultivation; and they vary with the changing characteristics of the race as the fauna and flora of the tertiary system differ from those of the chalk. They are separable from the whole mass of phenomena, not in fact, but only in thought." It was vouchsafed to Jewish minds to be the first recipients of the truth in Christ, and to record the first impression made by its manifestation upon the human soul. Christianity thus first clothed itself in the existing forms of Hebrew thought, assumed the Old Testament for its background and preparation, and issued from a Jewish home into the world. Simple and brief as is the language of the earliest Creeds and Scriptures, their transparent clearness but concealed their depth. For the interpretation of their terms not only the Hebrew past had to be studied, but its New Testament sequel and fulfilment. It was the mission of the Hellenic mind to attempt the translation of these Hebrew forms of thought into Western language, to theologize Christianity, to construe the elements of its historic faith in terms of dogma, and in the process to disclose something of the unfathomable riches of the meaning which was latent in them. The Roman mind took little part in the formulations of the Councils, made little effort to emulate the speculative agility of the Greek, but it loved law and uniformity; and the Roman will took pains to enforce on all the world Hellenic orthodoxy. Last of all, the Faith once delivered to Jewish disciples, elaborated by Grecian converts, enforced by Roman converts, came to Northern Europe for reinterpretation, and, under the influence mainly of the Teutonic mind, reasserted its pristine appeal to the individual soul and conscience, at once relaxing the stern Roman grasp and recoiling from Hellenic subtlety. The attempt to materialize the Communion of Saints in a

visible Catholic Church by means of force when persuasion failed, was alien to the obvious spirit of the Gospel and the Master, and was doomed to failure. The way to Christian unity does not pass through the council-chamber, the law-court, the prison-house, and the place of burning. God has so fashioned the minds of men and the genius of nations that each must react in its own way upon the Gospel message. That does not mean that ultimate unity in doctrine is unthinkable, but it does mean that it cannot be hurried or forced. Every age and every race and every mind must form its own conclusions, spontaneously and truthfully, of Christ and His saving work for man. Each may add something to the fulness that the world shall find in Him, and if that fulness be divine as each believes, not all their labours will exhaust it. The multiplication of symbols need be no ultimate menace to Christian unity. They are but fore-studies for the final form, or else they are object-lessons in the truth that our religion is too vast for condensation in one Creed. They constitute a solemn admonition that it is dangerous and wrong to coerce minorities in matters of reason and conscience and religious scholarship, and that neither Truth, nor God from whom it comes, is automatically on the side of the majority, in camp with the "big battalions." The debt of the world to thinking minorities is nowhere more vividly apparent than in the successive rise of the great Protestant denominations whose standards have been reviewed. Each stands for an idea, or a nexus of ideas, whose life was in danger of being strangled in the meshes of convention. It is a wholesome and reassuring experience to find, even in sects whose names have become bywords of eccentricity, a staunch adherence in doctrine and in practice to great principles of religious truth and life ; and it suggests to the open-minded student of history that in many cases these systems have been adopted for the sake of those principles and in spite of the eccentricities. Our divisions in the Church, since in the great majority of cases they have sprung from self-sacrificing loyalty to truth, and not from love of power, are a proof that in the intelligence and scholar-

ship of Christendom conscience has not been slumbering, and are a stage towards that all-embracing unity whose foundation truth and charity alone can lay. "The multiplication of sects," says Herbert Spencer,[1] a critic sufficiently detached, "with which by foreign observers England is reproached, . . . philosophically considered, is one of her superior traits. For the rise of every new sect, implying a reassertion of the right of private judgment, is a collateral result of the nature which makes free institutions possible." It has been so ordained that, after using temporal authority, excommunication, and superstitious fear, without success, the Church of Christ should learn that the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace is only to be attained through contrition for its infinite and harrowing dissensions, and by means of patient and brotherly persuasion, and that even among Christian systems of sacred dogma there is a God-appointed struggle to survive, by which the unfit are eliminated. It is not too much to ask that Christians, whose faith was once protected by the large-hearted tolerance of an ancient Jewish Rabbi, should act towards one another in the spirit of his appeal: "I say unto you, Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will be overthrown: but if it is of God, ye will not be able to overthrow them; lest haply ye be found even to be fighting against God." Without that seriousness and care for truth which has inspired ecclesiastical divisions, it were hopeless to look for a stable understanding in the future. Happily in our time there is a deepening of Christian fellowship between the Churches, a readiness to see reason in rival positions, an appreciation of the spiritual consensus beneath the obvious dissensus of our manifold Confessions. No one can peruse Schaff's admirable conspectus of the doctrinal agreements and distinctions between the various Church-communions,[2] or the impartial analyses and Tables of Winer's *Comparative View of the Doctrines and Confessions of the Various Communities of Christendom*,

[1] *Ecclesiastical Institutions*, Lond. 1885, p. 805.
[2] *Hist. of Creeds*, pp. 919–930.

without being struck by the extent to which great ideas and deep-seated instincts cross the lines of denominational cleavage, and appear, now here, now there, in bodies to outward seeming remote from one another in all other respects. Signs are abundant that the age of schism is over, and that for the great mass of Christians throughout the world catholicity is no longer external or even synonymous with intellectual uniformity, and is not to be measured by geographical diffusion or by numerical strength. Union movements have been a gratifying feature of the age. Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, and Congregationalists have not only each been closing up their own disordered ranks, but have been drawing closer in doctrine as in Christian effort to each other, most of all in the Colonies and in the Foreign Mission Field. Alliances [1] and Federations and

[1] The Alliance of Evangelical Protestant Churches, formed in 1846, and including Episcopalians, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, and Moravians among the fifty organizations represented, adopted as its doctrinal basis NINE ARTICLES as follows :—

The parties composing the Alliance shall be such persons only as hold and maintain what are usually understood to be evangelical views in regard to the matters of doctrine under-stated, namely—

1. The Divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.

2. The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.

3. The Unity of the Godhead, and the Trinity of the persons therein.

4. The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the Fall.

5. The incarnation of the Son of God, His work of atonement for the sins of mankind, and His mediatorial intercession and reign.

6. The justification of the sinner by faith alone.

7. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner.

8. The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous, and the eternal punishment of the wicked.

9. The Divine institution of the Christian ministry, and the obligation and perpetuity of the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

It is, however, distinctly declared : First, that this brief summary is

Conferences of all the Evangelical Communions, Union Proposals not only between Presbyterians and Episcopalians, as in Australia, but also earlier between Anglicans and Greek Orthodox, attest the same new spirit. Plainly the lessons of history are being widely learned. The struggles of the past for liberty and charity and truth have not been all in vain. Men are more willing to act upon the sacred principles which John Wesley pressed home in his memorable *Advice to the People called Methodists:* "Lay so much stress on opinions that all your own, if it be possible, may agree with truth and reason, but have a care of anger, dislike, or contempt towards those whose opinions differ from yours. . . . Condemn no man for not thinking as you think. Let everyone enjoy the full and free liberty of thinking for himself. . . . Abhor every approach, in any kind or degree, to the spirit of persecution. If you cannot reason or persuade a man into the truth, never attempt to force him into it. If love will not compel him to come in, leave him to God, the Judge of all." "As to all opinions," he says elsewhere, "which do not strike at the root of Christianity, we think and let think." Other than doctrinal elements in religion are having justice done to them. Temperamental as well as intellectual differences between men and peoples are being allowed for and respected. Conduct and character are counted surer tests than creeds. While Faith and Hope and Charity still abide, the greatest is felt to be Charity. Never was the desire so widespread and intense to act upon the noble maxim: *In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.* The century that is past was vocal with that message. Not by the same path but to the same goal

not to be regarded in any formal or ecclesiastical sense as a creed or confession, nor the adoption of it as involving an assumption of the right authoritatively to define the limits of Christian brotherhood, but simply as an indication of the class of persons whom it is desirable to embrace within the Alliance; Second, that the selection of certain tenets, with the omission of others, is not to be held as implying that the former constitute the whole body of important truth, or that the latter are unimportant.

came minds so different as Carlyle and Tennyson. "Are not all true men," says the former, "that live or that ever lived, soldiers of the same army, enlisted under heaven's Captaincy, to do battle against the same enemy—the empire of darkness and wrong? Why should we misknow one another, fight not against the enemy, but against ourselves, from mere difference of uniform?" Of Tennyson we are told by his son that he thought with Arthur Hallam that "the essential feelings of religion subsist in the utmost diversity of forms," that "different language does not always imply different opinions, nor different opinions any difference in *real* faith." "It is impossible," he said, "to imagine that the Almighty will ask you, when you come before Him in the next life, what your particular form of creed was; but the question will rather be, 'Have you been true to yourself, and given in My name a cup of cold water to one of these little ones?'" To the age-old questions, finely voiced by Walter C. Smith,

Dare I trust my heart's voice against the Voice of the Whole?
Yet should the roar of the Crowd ever drown the true voice of the soul?

Browning answers,

Let me enjoy my own conviction,
Nor watch my neighbour's faith with fretfulness,
Still spying there some dereliction
Of truth, perversity, forgetfulness.

And Plumptre, the Anglican, is at one with Whittier, the Quaker poet, in his conclusions, for in turn they say:

Hast thou made much of words, and forms, and tests,
And thought but little of the peace and love,—
His Gospel to the poor? Dost thou condemn
Thy brother, looking down, in pride of heart,
On each poor wanderer from the fold of truth?
. . . . Go thy way!—
Take Heaven's own armour for the heavenly strife,
Welcome all helpers in thy war with sin . . . .
And learn through all the future of thy years
To form thy life in likeness of thy Lord's.

Call him not heretic whose works attest
His faith in goodness by no creed confessed.
Whatever in love's name is truly done
To free the bound and lift the fallen one
Is done to Christ. Whoso in deed and word
Is not against Him, labours for our Lord.
When He, who, sad and weary, longing sore
For love's sweet service, sought the sisters' door,
One saw the heavenly, one the human guest,
But who shall say which loved the Master best?

CHAPTER XXIV.

PROBLEMS OF RETENTION AND REVISION.

FEW thoughtful members of the Christian Church who have made any study of the history of forms of faith can have eluded altogether the radical and disquieting questions, *Ought Creeds and Confessions to be? Have they not served their day? Good, bad, or indifferent, may Christendom not dispense with them?* Whether one meets them on the threshold of the Christian ministry, or on admission to communion, or in the services and sacraments of common worship, the feeling is widespread that they are now impediments to freedom of fellowship and freedom of devotion, thrust like so many skeletons of dead and buried pieties in the path of the living. Doubtless the bones of our ancestors have a deep claim upon our reverence, but their true place is underneath the pavement on which we kneel in church, if they were great men, or outside in the churchyard, if they were humbler folk, not standing in the pulpit or sitting in the pew beside men of flesh and blood. Do we not need all the room and air that is possible within the four walls that echo to our worship and instructions in the truth, and should not the air we breathe even at sacred seasons be free from religious mustiness?

There can be no doubt that, whether the world is becoming anti-confessional or not, these documents are being given a greatly altered position in religious life. It is certain that in all the Churches, Roman Catholic and even Greek Orthodox included, an attitude of quiet personal independence, reverent but firm, towards them is being adopted increasingly, alike by clergy and by people, in

spite of every effort to arrest the movement. Particular confessions, among them the most time-honoured, even the Œcumenical Creeds themselves whose gradual evolution has become matter of common knowledge, are studied and appreciated in the light of our knowledge of their time, the controversies that led up to them, the vocabulary of current thought, and the limitations of the scholarship of their day and of the minds that framed them. And it is a feature of the change that those who are most dissatisfied with our inherited dogmas are also the least eager to provide substitutes for them. It has been said with justice, that "this age would be poorly provided unless the past furnished a supply." Whatever be the reasons, and many were suggested in last chapter, it is not more certain that excommunications and anathemas have lost their terrors, than that the documents to which they were appended have lost their interest and power. Probably the most reasonable explanation is that Christian thinkers have been preoccupied with a fresh investigation and defence of the theistic foundations of the faith, and in particular with a fresh examination of the Bible, most of all the Gospels and their Central Figure, by means of an apparatus of textual and linguistic and historical information which no previous age possessed. If we are working at the sources with a solemn sense of the momentous issues that confront us, it need not be marvelled that we forget these lower and lesser authorities. Till we have reached conviction on the questions raised by the new study of the Gospels, traditional systems once reared on older conceptions of their meaning must needs seem hypothetic and provisional. And as our knowledge of the historical fluctuations of Christian doctrine and of the spiritual attainments of the other great religious systems of mankind increases, we would be less than human, less than scientific thinkers, if we did not pause before committing ourselves at the present time to a new scheme of confident theology couched in the old dogmatic style.

It is not that we have an inherent distaste for Creeds

and Confessions as such, an instinctive repugnance to Dogma as Dogma, but we have simply outgrown the old and with chastened expectations are looking for a new. The experience of creedless Churches, like the Unitarian, helped though they have been during a century of unparalleled research, scientific attainment, and intellectual liberty, by the prestige of almost complete doctrinal freedom, and influential as they have been in stimulating the thought of the Christian world at large, in promoting scholarship, and in correcting tritheistic and superstitious tendencies in orthodox Church life, has not been such as to prove that there is in Christendom in general any widespread dislike or distrust of creeds *as creeds*. The religious bodies which proclaim their freedom from dogma have not been overwhelmed by applications for admission to their membership. "It is sometimes said," writes Henry Sidgwick in this connexion,[1] "that we live in an age that rejects authority. The statement thus unqualified seems misleading; probably there never was a time when the number of beliefs held by each individual, undemonstrated and unverified by himself, was greater. But it is true that we are more and more disposed to accept only authority of a particular sort; the authority, namely, that is formed and maintained by the unconstrained agreement of individual thinkers, each of whom we believe to be seeking truth with single-mindedness and sincerity, and declaring what he has found with scrupulous veracity, and the greatest attainable exactness and precision." Creedlessness, it would appear, is not a tempting alternative to the "Creed-bound," even in an age like ours. Luther's dictum that Christians require certainty, definite dogmas, a sure word of God which they can trust to live and die by, seems still to hold long after Luther's individual dogmas began to relax their grasp. If the plough is to be kept moving, a fresh yoke to replace one that is worn out is better than none. Till the new is ready, people make shift to do with the old. Even Agnosticism must have its Creed.

[1] *Practical Ethics*, Lond. 1898, p. 124.

"No rational being," says Robert Flint in his monumental work on *Agnosticism*,[1] "can be creedless. The agnostic can no more dispense with a creed than his neighbours, although it may be peculiarly difficult or inconvenient for him to profess that he has one. The advocate of universal doubt cannot take a single step towards the vindication of his doubt unless he believes, and believes himself to know what certainty, knowledge, evidence, and truth are." "The very logic," as Edward Caird says, "by which the sceptic overthrows the dogmas of philosophy, implies that the mind possesses in itself the form and idea of truth. His deepest doubt reveals a certitude that transcends and embraces it." When Huxley declared that Science commits suicide the moment it accepts a creed, he could only mean that it was fatal to Science to accept a creed as the last word of truth, as unrevisable, else Science has been in a state of "perpetual suicide," for it has never been without its working Creed, with Nature's Laws and man's hypotheses for its dogmatic articles. Following Auguste Comte, John Stuart Mill states it as fundamental to the Positivist religion, that "there must be a creed or conviction claiming authority over the whole of human life; a belief, or set of beliefs, deliberately adopted, respecting human destiny and duty, to which the believer inwardly acknowledges that all his actions ought to be subordinate." And Herbert Spencer's *Autobiography* closes with the striking confession: "Religious creeds, which in one way or other occupy the sphere that rational interpretation seeks to occupy and fails, and fails the more the more it seeks, I have come to regard with a sympathy based on community of need: feeling that dissent from them results from inability to accept the solutions offered, joined with the wish that solutions could be found." It is a doubtful privilege to join the ranks of those who, in Lord Bacon's caustic phrase, "delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief." There are countless natures that prefer superstition to scepticism,

[1] Edin. 1903, p. 209.

and Rome in the last two generations has opened her ponderous gates to thousands of panic-stricken souls, who, like Newman, infinitely preferred grave doubts and misgivings regarding transubstantiation, Mary-worship, and Papal infallibility within her walls, under the restful shadow of her unquestioning assertion of the Catholic Faith, to the anxieties and responsibilities of a freer communion in which liberalism and criticism went unabashed, and every doctrine was subject to reconsideration and review.

The fact is, Creeds and Confessions there must be. Faith, the very soul of Religion, though it embraces more than intellect, and listens to the persuasions of feeling as well as reason, cannot renounce the intellect, much less defy it, if it would attain to enduring certitude. As it moves, torch in hand, on its beneficent way down through the successive generations of old and young, learned and simple, filling the world with cheerfulness and power to endure, it cannot dispense with words and forms of thought such as the toiling masses, and all save a leisured few, yearn to receive for guidance and support. "There has been every variety of measure and manner of sobriety and of the reverse in the assertion of doctrine, and the embodiment of it in symbolical writings. But one thing cannot be doubted: a high Christian enthusiasm has usually been connected with strong and decided affirmation of doctrine, and with a disposition to speak it out ever more fully. That temper has been venturesome to speak even as it has been venturesome to do; as little fearing to declare God's Word in human speech, as to embody His will in human acts." [1] There cannot be a gospel, or preacher's tidings for the saving of mankind, without an antecedent creed or body of belief, be it articulate or inarticulate. Preaching is the confident utterance of belief as well as of experience, and belief as distinct from knowledge always entails the recognition of things unseen

[1] R. Rainy, *Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine*, Edin. 1874, p. 285.

and realities mysterious. If men are to enter pulpits, they must know in whom they have believed. The Book that accompanies them is a symbol of the assurance that should ring out unmistakably. And if men are to speak from a common platform and within a common organization, for the propagation and increase of Religion, they must have a common basis of faith, however limited, which may well be expressed in some form of public Creed. The phrasing of such articles is a task of consummate difficulty and delicacy, if many healthy minds are to be associated under them, still more difficult and delicate if many generations and many nationalities are to adhere to them without strain of conscience and sincerity. But it has to be done, and it ought to be done, and Christendom has no cause to regret that it has bestowed such long-continued labour on doing it.

It is in truth unthinkable that the vast aggregate of doctrinal symbols, evolved by the Church in all lands during nineteen centuries of intense activity, should have proceeded from any but a profoundly natural and honourable instinct in the soul of faith. But it is also unthinkable that any one type of doctrine now prevailing should claim, without gross presumption and ludicrous exaggeration, to have a monopoly of Divine and saving truth entrusted to it. From this point of view the future seems to lie not with the Greek and Roman Churches, whose orthodoxies are burdensome, and whose catholicities are marred by a scornful exclusiveness and pride of privilege, but with the great branches of the Reformed Church, which, with all their shortcomings, have learned a higher catholicity and a simpler ideal of dogma. If numbers and population are not yet on their side,—barely four centuries have passed since the simple-hearted Augustinian Friar made his stand at Wittenberg,—education, energy, social enterprise, intellectual courage, and a sanctity that does not shun the home and flee the world, are with them. The Greek and Roman types of doctrine are accepted with stolid and unintelligent acquiescence by a far larger proportion of their adherents than are any others,

and illiteracy in Europe is mainly found complacently associated with them. Although their priests and people are isolated by every possible means, those orthodoxies have the struggle with Modernism in all its forms still to pass through, from which Protestantism with its opener mind has scarcely ever been exempt, and Modernism never assumes a form more radical or menacing than when it asserts itself within a mediæval system. As education and knowledge of the past advance within their bounds they will afford a less and less secure asylum for timorous minds, and they will be able to secure active loyalty to their dogmas only by interpreting them with greater latitude or frankly recasting them and moderating their pretensions. Hitherto they have shown themselves fatally incapable of appreciating sympathetically the religious needs and aspirations which Protestantism, however imperfectly, has voiced and sought to satisfy. Till they acquire that faculty, and generously exercise it, however gravely it may threaten their hierarchic claims, they keep in store for themselves a narrowing and darkening future. It is a poor and hollow catholicity that can dispense with the religious forces which have operated with such power in the Churches and lands of the Reformation, and that can dread so abjectly the incursion within its dim precincts of the new light upon the mysteries of Nature and of Grace which modern Science in God's providence is sent to throw.

The broad lesson of history and experience, then, is that Creeds and Confessions are inevitable and legitimate products of the Christian mind in response to Divine Revelation, that they serve great and salutary didactic and disciplinary ends in the Christian economy; that, varying as they have done in form and content with the age and race that gave them birth, they have been ingenuous and laudable endeavours to present the essence of Christian doctrine authoritatively to the world; and that, inasmuch as stable unity is only to be based on truth, through temporary disunion they have been stages towards final concord, promoting ultimate tolerance and comprehensiveness by the way. As a great

Scottish Churchman, whom the exigencies and necessities of ecclesiastical leadership in anxious times compelled to sound the very depths of their meaning, Robert Rainy, puts it in a noble and statesmanlike chapter of his Cunningham Lecture on *The Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine*:[1] "Christ's Church was not meant to be a society in which men should be comfortably rid of all difficulties by the process of turning them all out of doors. It was intended that much should be borne with, which it should require some trouble to adjust, some patience and magnanimity to tolerate, some wisdom to reconcile with fidelity on the one hand and with peace on the other." It may also be freely acknowledged that Creeds and Confessions, in the same writer's words, "confer most important benefits on those who are called to accept them, first by the guidance which they supply, and secondly by the decision and precision which the necessity of reckoning with them brings into men's views,"[2] . . . and that "tenderness and reverence are due to documents like these; and tenderness and reverence are due to the feelings with which they are regarded, on account of the interests with which they are connected, and the truths which they have been a mouthpiece to express." It is not only the sepulchral dust of ages that has soiled those yellow leaves, in whose fresh penmanship past generations took such unaffected pride. Remove what dust is found upon them, and you find them marked with the finger-prints of toiling scholars, hallowed not seldom by the darker stains of blood poured out in their defence. Let it not be denied that we are treading on holy ground when we visit the scenes of their birth, even though they were not conceived immaculately. But not all these moving considerations which heart and mind conspire to urge on their behalf in vindication of their right to impress and teach us still, can avail to exact from us an unconditional assent to their authority. Wheresoever in God's world truth is found springing up to light, there is holy ground, whether it of old was trodden under foot of

[1] Edin. 1874; Lect. vi., on "Creeds," p. 237. [2] *Ibid.* p. 255.

crowded councils and now is railed in by a grateful Church against profanation by unhallowed feet, or was but recently discovered by some lonely searcher and consecrated by his single-handed and self-denying care. Christendom in every age has more than its past to be loyal to. Times emerge —so human life is ordered—when it must consider other claims than pious sentiment, and leave the dead to bury their dead. There is ever a time present for which it is responsible, and a future for which it is charged to prepare. Generations that have a zeal for building lordly sepulchres to mark the last resting-place of departed prophets, and cherish a passion for collecting and enshrining their relics, are but too apt to stone or to neglect their living representatives. It is a travesty of piety that starves posterity in order to lay All Souls' Day offerings on the tombs of its ancestors.

The retention, then, of Creeds and Confessions by the living Church is conditional upon their continued fitness to serve the great purpose for which Christ came, that men may have life and may have it more abundantly. The moment they begin to cramp the spiritual faculties, and impair free access to Truth and to the Spirit of Scripture, they ring their own knell. It must be admitted that, although they have been formulated as "subordinate standards" to Scripture, and by their very origin also proved their essential subjection to the living organization which drew them up and gave them authority and modified their form from time to time at will, they have almost invariably by the prestige of acceptance and antiquity threatened if not usurped the place of supremacy, and so wrapped themselves about with sacred associations as to daunt all but the hardiest minds from challenging their sway. "They do unquestionably tend," writes Robert Rainy,[1] "and they may sometimes powerfully tend, to bias men's minds with reference to the single-eyed investigation of truth. On this point it is quite truly said by opponents of Confessions, that they operate not so often by disposing a

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 255.

man to conceal his formed opinions, but rather by disposing him to avoid frank and perfectly sincere investigation when doubts or questions arise which, as he foresees, might bring him into collision with confessional teaching. He is tempted to form a habit of undue deference to the human document, to the consent which it expresses, and the antiquity which invests it. He is tempted to let himself be paralysed with reference to every movement that might eventually lead him out of the road which human hands have mapped out for him. The temptations which operate in this connection are not necessarily sordid. Most often they are not so. There need be no profound sympathy with a man whose temptations turn on the retention or the sacrifice of clerical income. But temptation may rise out of the strength and depth of the feelings with which he looks forward to the ministry as his life's work, or out of the habits and the ties which he has formed during years of life already devoted to it. Sacrifices of this kind may seem less capable of being borne; and interests of this order may seem to have a right to command out of the way the difficulties which investigation if pursued might be found to raise. I do not understand, nor do I wish to understand, the state of mind of a man who has not felt temptation arising from this quarter. The existence of it ought to be admitted." Similarly in regard to Scripture, while Confessions employ the language of unreserved deference towards it, the fact that they are framed in each case to present one type, and one alone, of interpretation of the teaching of the Bible, inevitably circumscribes the liberty of choice within Holy Writ which their adherents formerly possessed, and apparently were intended to possess, and unwarrantably curtails the discretion which the framers themselves were privileged to exercise. When individuals or groups of teachers are charged in confession-holding Churches with grave departure from orthodoxy, it avails them little that they make appeal to Scriptures overlooked by the Confession. The reply is that every heresy has some pet passage from the Bible on its lips, and that the Confession was meant to dis-

tinguish the sense in which Scripture is to be received, and the Truth to be derived from it. In short, where Scripture has too wide a mesh to eliminate the heretical from the orthodox, the finer texture of the Confession by judicial discipline is made to do it. And similarly again, just as in prayer the Church has shown a painful proclivity to turn to saintly mediation rather than approach the open Throne of Grace with boldness in the name of the Redeemer, so in doctrine it has shown a painful diffidence in availing itself of the open Book, and betaking itself to Him whom it accounts the Word made flesh and the Light of the world, and falling at His feet for counsel. "There has been a constant tendency to allow the Church . . . to intercept the fellowship with Christ, instead of helping and promoting it. The terrific force with which this tendency works in the hearts of men is revealed in every page of Church history, and in the experience of every passing day. He knows little of his own heart who has not felt it." [1]

If Churches and Scholars are free to revise and modify their conception of what the Bible teaches, and of what the spirit of truth that speaks from its pages admonishes them to believe and do, *a fortiori* they are free to revise and modify traditional summaries of that teaching and guidance. In theory, Roman Catholics and Protestants both hold this view, but with each there are reservations. The former claim theoretical, the latter practical, infallibility for their standards. When Rome "has spoken," through Councils under the old régime, through the Pope *ex cathedra* under the new, she can never take back one single dogmatic syllable, for that were fatal to the proud claim of indefeasible infallibility. When Protestant Synods have drawn up and ratified their standards, although no theoretic inerrancy and finality is claimed for them, every possible practical impediment is put in the way of revision. Except in rare revolutionary times, when some upheaval shatters them and instantly replaces them by other forms before its force is spent, it is thought indecorous and impolitic to

[1] Rainy, *op. cit.* p. 143.

"tinker" at them. Patches look ill on old vessels, betray some secret fault of structure, or the inroads of decay, or wear and tear, weaken sometimes the surrounding parts to which they are attached, always provoke the finger of scorn. In defence of an old formula those who can see no blemish in it, and love nothing in it so much as its antiquity, are joined by those who dislike it utterly but fear that in the temper of the Church a worse might take its place, a form more liberal perhaps in its terms, yet equally unwelcome, because more stringently imposed. "Those who feel only some satisfaction with their adaptation to present circumstances are content to let them alone, rather than encounter the responsibilities and face the questions which revision might entail. Those who see cause to entertain more serious objections are disabled morally by the fact that subscription imposes on them an obligation to resign their positions and so their right to influence a decision. At all events a call for revision from those who object to material parts of the confessional teaching tends always to rally on the old lines those who in general agree with it. They sink the opinions which might have led them to seek readjustment of details in order that they may take the ground most convenient for fighting out the larger question."[1] "Probably it would be better to be without any Confessions, than to be always rebuilding them. These documents ought not to contain problematical matter, but rather that which is believed to be plentifully proved and surely fixed. . . . Still it cannot be assumed that they have actually assumed this character, especially when they are of some length and minuteness; and therefore it might be desirable to secure that on any fair call the Church's attention should be directed to any part of the confession supposed to require revision, not as a singular and revolutionary step, but as something belonging to her ordinary and recognised responsibilities. At present any proposal to reconsider the Confession would be felt in most of the Presbyterian

[1] Rainy, *op. cit.* p. 275.

Churches as a revolutionary proposal, opening the way to unimaginable possibilities. Such a feeling is not consistent with the true position in which creeds and confessions ought to stand, nor with a right conception of the relation of the Church to her doctrinal teaching generally. And it is attended with danger. . . . Regular provision for considering changes that might be proposed would not in all likelihood lead to frequent actual changes. It would operate as a conservative arrangement. It would ease the pressure of the feeling, which constitutes half our danger, that men are held in the grasp of ancient formulas, received merely because they are ancient, from whose determinations even of the smallest points there is no real appeal. It would give to the Confession an added weight and authority, as being more manifestly expressive of the actual and living mind of the Church. Finally, it would make it plain that Confessions as mere human compositions are kept in their own place, and are not allowed to assume an immutability injurious to the sole authority of the Word of God." [1] "I should find it difficult to express the sense which I entertain both of the difficulties and of the dangers of revision. I should find it difficult to convey the importance which I attach . . . to a wise stedfastness in refusing to vary the confessional expression of it, except for grave causes, and in the calmest and most deliberate manner. But then I am convinced that all the dangers and the difficulties are greatly aggravated by the formation of a habit of church-life to which the idea of revision becomes something strange, monstrous, almost sacrilegious. I am conconvinced that to familiarize our minds with the topic is the true way to diminish the dangers of it. To look upon it habitually as a task that may at any time become incumbent, consisting in the reconsideration of some point or points of our standard of doctrinal qualification for office, in connection with the maintenance of the divine unchangeable faith, this is much more likely than

[1] Rainy, *op. cit.* pp. 276–278.

the opposite habit to avert inconsiderate changes and the instability from which they spring." [1] "There can be little doubt that a large latitude might be practicable, as regards minor points, if any large degree of wisdom in the ordinary administration of Christian teaching could be ordinarily reckoned on. If one could count upon it that a prevailing regard to the spirit and main scope of the gospel should uniformly regulate public teaching, and a wise consideration of the convictions of those instructed, and a modest estimate of the probable value of personal peculiarities of view, then it might be easier to make room more freely for such peculiarities. But in practice a considerable amount of onesidedness and unwisdom, of pertinacious and senseless propagandism, must be reckoned on. With this in view, the protection of the congregations from what would vex and scandalize them, from what would raise irritating and bewildering discussion, demands more care." [2] "One mourns, seeing the mischief done by indefensible creeds, that no fitter hands proved ready to readjust them, and that it was left to semi-Christian and to unchristian feeling to do, in their own way, what Christian feeling should have done in its way. . . . No Protestant can shut out the question whether some alteration may not be desirable or incumbent. But would that the question might be faced, when it must be faced, with a great power of Christian life,—with a true Christian enthusiasm bringing forth its proper fruits,—an enthusiasm for Christian truth combined with enthusiasm for Scripture simplicity and for Christian love." [3]

Let it be remembered that strict outward uniformity in doctrine may be purchased at too dear a price, not only in the loss of those who resent it on high grounds and secede, but in the enfeebled cohesion of those who remain. Adherence to historic dogmas is valueless, and indeed pernicious, if it be not intelligent and spontaneous. Assent, ignorant or constrained, is not consent. If it is death to a Creed to be exposed to the storms of free thought, it

[1] Rainy, *op. cit.* pp. 284, 285. [2] *Ibid.* p. 268. [3] *Ibid.* p. 286.

ought to die. It is such buffeting by the elements of experience, it is such conflict with the ravaging forces of time and change, that reveals with unrivalled impressiveness and certainty the faith that can dare to call itself eternal. Constitutional change, as distinct from revolutionary alterations wrought by passing impulse which only provoke reaction, is legitimate, and ought to be provided for without prejudice or craven fear, for a creed that is not believed to be true is unworthy of the name. No system deserves the name of faith which rests on mistrust of God and doubt of His providential guidance. No Confession can be spiritual or secure which has to be safeguarded by the whip of discipline, or by measures which disclose an ignoble distrust of the future guidance of God's Holy Spirit. Doctrinal understandings or declarations which are maintained by Church Courts and Authorities through precarious or narrow majorities, are hollow things, and involve in every case a painful loss of prestige. The Creed which has not in it the note of triumphal assurance, carrying the hearts of all its adherents with it, ought not to rush into publicity, or pretend to an authority which in reality it does not possess. How to change without loss of continuity, how to grow without loss of identity, how to be free in doctrine while clinging to a sacred past, how to meet the protean spirit of the times without bowing down to it, yet without alienating its rightful instincts and flouting its proper needs—these are the practical difficulties to the mind of a Church which would be true to the past, honest with the present, and helpful to the future; and there has never been an age in human history so keenly alive to them as the present, so eager and so anxious to deal with them, so capable of appreciating and handling them aright. It is not more certain that a branch of the Church ought to publish the faith which animates it so far as words can do so, than that it ought to publish such changes in that faith as time under the Spirit of Truth brings with it. The obligation is identical. Faith, though it changes, remains faith notwithstanding, and, when it

regains a position of stable equilibrium, it ought not to be hid, but expressed in public as a fresh message of good news for the world. If Christianity be true, and Christ the Truth, new knowledge should be welcome to all Christians as an increase to their heritage of truth. Obscurantism in every form, suspicion of fresh light however betrayed, is fatal to the good name of a Church and to the reputation of the religion it would protect. It is treachery to faith to suggest that it can be preserved only by enclosure within fences, or by isolation from contagion in the stir of science and of life. Religion can have few deadlier foes than the man who thinks that its influence or future can really be destroyed by tampering with a particular Creed.

Among the grave impediments to confessional revision there is one which deserves special notice. It is not theological, nor sentimental, nor directly ethical. It is legal and ecclesiastico-political, and concerns the material resources which a Church inevitably accumulates. Let us suppose that a Church has been passing through a time of doctrinal unrest, and feels itself galled by the pressure of its standards, which were drawn up and imposed by acclamation in more narrow and rigid days. A considerable majority of its ministers and members desire revision; a resolute minority distrust change, and resist it passionately. What is to be done? Action must, of course, be constitutional, else the Civil Courts may be successfully invoked by the minority. Action must also be Christian, else the higher tribunal of religious opinion will be moved to pronounce a judgment with severer consequences. Are you to wait until the minority die out, or until they are persuaded? They may never disappear; they may never yield. Are they then to rule, and not the greater number? Experience proves the extreme persistence of devout souls who conscientiously dread dogmatic changes. It is a wretched creed that has not some fanatical defenders. Overrule their scruples, and pass your new Confession, and it is open to them to secede, nay it is open to them to say

that you have seceded, and to claim not merely a proportion but the whole of the vested property of the Church. Their claim is valid, under the common law of trusts which must control the possession of all such property, unless it can be clearly proved either that the changes made were not in things essential to the traditional standards of the Church, in the natural presumption of whose continuance the property was given and amassed, or that your action was in strict accordance with provisions, definitely incorporated in the constitution of the Church, for confessional change. In a civilly established Church there would be no legal case for the minority even on the minor plea for a proportion of the property, if the supreme Court of the Church possessed complete spiritual jurisdiction and a power of doctrinal change acknowledged by the State. But if it had less than those powers, the minority might appeal to the Civil Tribunal, or to Parliament itself, to have it determined whether the State considered the change in question to be legitimate under its concordat with the Church. The change would thus be liable to come under the review of a Secular Court. If the minority failed in their appeal, they would have nothing to fall back upon but their own resources, supplemented by such assistance as the Christian sense of the majority might competently assign them. In the case of a non-established or a non-conformist Church, on the contrary, the legal advantage, as we have seen, is with the minority in all cases where there is no explicit constitutional power of change. Ordination vows of obedience to the Courts of the Church would not constitute fatal evidence against the recalcitrant minority, because they were made on the basis of a doctrinal system which had been violated by the change. No reader of a work like the standard monograph by Dr. Taylor Innes on *The Law of Creeds in Scotland*,[1] which reviews the history of such cases in the British Courts, or of the Report of the "Free Church of Scotland Case" of 1900–1904, could take a light view of the risks of such proceed-

[1] Edin. 1867, and later editions.

ings. Dr. Taylor Innes, so early as in 1867, condensed the result of his examination into a single paragraph,[1] which deserves quotation. "Whether the principles already laid down shall be held in future by the Bench to be mere general presumptions or absolute rules—a matter for the authority of the Court to declare rather than for the ingenuity of private students of the law to anticipate—these general principles, as more recently expressed, seem to be as follows :—

"1. That in the ordinary case the trust is a trust for the congregation.

"2. That therefore the destination and use of the property must be regulated by the principles of the congregation—not of the ecclesiastical body with which it is connected.

"3. That when the Church, or general ecclesiastical body, changes its principles, it cannot compel the congregation to go along with it.

"4. That where the Church, without changing its principles, merges its separate identity by union with another body, it cannot compel the congregation to go along with it.

"5. That not only a majority, but even a minority of the congregation, has a right to vindicate the congregational property in the two cases last mentioned. The minority of the congregation may demand the property in the event of the majority acquiescing in the departure of the whole Church from (1) its principles, or (2) its separate identity.

"6. But unless the minority take action, the act of the majority is presumed to be right; and the minority must take action at the time, or without undue delay."

It is thus clear that if a Christian Church is to preserve unfettered its freedom to change or revise its Creed, and to escape alike the reproach of theological thraldom to the past and the embarrassment of civil interference in respect of material endowments, it must either be absolutely creedless or have a clearly defined constitutional liberty

[1] Pp. 362, 363.

to modify its Creed in whatever direction, and to whatever extent, it may adjudge that the Spirit of God in the future shall enjoin. Neither alternative is welcome to ordinary human nature. Creedlessness commends itself to few, least of all to men whose zeal for religion is enthusiastic enough to induce them to found a Church. To stipulate for absolute freedom to change is felt to be a reflection on the truth of the convictions that one holds, to verge upon practical creedlessness, and religious convictions are most of all prone to be dogmatic and to claim that their truth is eternal and Divine. The average man has neither faith enough in Christian human nature, nor faith enough in the future leading of God's Illumining Spirit, to trust the property he must bequeath, or the holy things he has learned to value, to ecclesiastical posterity without a legal restraint upon their administration. Yet there is something of disloyalty to the Church as a living institution in the attitude of mind which looks to the secular arm of the law to control the spiritual agency in its future employment of its material resources. At any rate, when parties in the Church cannot with Christian reasonableness compose their differences without appeal to Cæsar, it is too much to ask that other principles of law and justice shall be conjured up in Civil Courts for the determination of their proprietary rights in land and money than those which the conscience and usage of a country have evolved for the settlement of other trust-property disputes. Let all the Churches which value spiritual freedom set their houses and affairs in order before the evil day of contention dawn, but if division there must be, let them, however safe their case may be at law, also act on the principle, which in the Gospels is plainly enunciated, and which is implied in all fraternal loyalty, that an agreement between parties, were it but to separate in peace with proportional shares of their common patrimony assigned to each by arbitration or consent, be reached without the scandal and humiliation of recourse to Law. As one reflects with ruefulness upon

the episodes of strife, concerning wealth accumulated for religious or ecclesiastical use, which darken the history of the Church throughout the world, one is tempted sometimes to wonder whether it is possible that the saying which pictures wealth as an obstacle to entrance into the Kingdom was meant to admonish Churches not less than individual Christian men.

CHAPTER XXV.

SUBSCRIPTION AND ITS ETHICS: THE IDEAL CREED.

WHAT of subscription, and its ethics? There is no subject more difficult, no problem more complex and delicate, no question more pressing throughout Christendom to-day, than that which it presents. It has been discussed times without number in magazine symposia, and in still graver tones at clerical firesides. Thousands of Roman Catholic priests have shared the scruples and misgivings of their Protestant brothers. Orders resigned by sensitive souls, the very salt of their profession: hearts broken by the loss of the only life-work to which they had looked forward: youths of the highest promise passing in thousands the door to the ministry of the Gospel, not because it is not the way to affluence and title, but because it is reputed that those who go in go with tied hands and fettered intellects: energies, in priest and minister, that should be flung into the thick of the Christian fray, consumed in solitude in brooding interminably over the doubt of their moral right to hold their commission:—who does not mourn that the effective forces of the war-establishment of Christendom are thus impaired? What minister or priest in times of doctrinal flux has been exempt from every such disquietude? What country in the Christian world, what section of the Church, what age in history, has been completely proof against its inroads?

Too often the problem is discussed in public by men of letters or of academic standing who treat it merely as an abstract question, or handle it with unfeeling hardness, or brusquely dismiss it, solved in a superficial sentence, as unjust and impertinent as it is brief. Can the ethics of

subscription not be treated ethically ? Few will read such a discussion of it as, *e.g.*, the late Professor Sidgwick's in his *Practical Ethics*,[1] without a feeling of profound disappointment at its lack of depth and comprehensiveness, its imperfect sympathy, and at critical points a certain unlooked-for amateurishness of thought, or as Lord Morley's in his powerful essay *On Compromise*,[2] without a like feeling of regret that while so much is nobly and arrestingly said, a case so one-sided and defective is made under a motto, itself borrowed from a Churchman, "It makes all the difference in the world whether we put Truth in the first place, or in the second place." There is more than abstract Truth to be put in the first place in judging men. There is sympathetic insight and historical fairness, the very essence of large-minded truthfulness. Neither the Cambridge Philosopher not the London Man of Letters and Affairs can stand to his own "rules of veracity,"—each admits exceptional cases. The one confesses: "I should not hesitate to lie to a murderer in pursuit of his victim, nor—if I thought it prudent—to deceive a burglar as to the whereabouts of the family plate. And there have been ages of violent and inquisitorial religious persecution when it was excusable, though not admirable, in a heretic to keep his view of truth a secret doctrine, and simulate acceptance of the creed imposed by fire and sword." [3] The other speaks roundly of "the essential and profound immorality of the priestly profession—in all its forms, and no matter in connection with what church or what dogma—which makes a man's living depend on his abstaining from using his mind, or concealing the conclusions to which use of his mind has brought him," adding rhetorically, "The time will come when society will look back on the doctrine, that they who serve the altar should live by the altar, as a doctrine of

[1] Lond. 1898, Lectures v. and vi., on *The Ethics of Religious Conformity* and *Clerical Veracity*.

[2] Lond. 1886, Ch. iv., on *Religious Conformity*.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 133.

barbarism and degradation," as if office in the State, political oaths, or loyalty to party, presented no analogous loopholes for external criticism. What of the doctrine that they who serve the hustings should live by the hustings? Even Lord Morley allows that the "first place" is not to be given to the naked truth of one's convictions when one's parents would be wounded by avowed unbelief. Has he never known men to whom the Church of Christ was as sacred as an earthly parent, to whom it was a sacrilege to cloud the simple faith of her believing "little ones," to whom disruption of her peace and secession from her hearth were alike a crime? The problem of subscription, and the problem of lay conformity, which are essentially one and the same for a high ethical standard, go far deeper than either writer cares to allow. They raise issues analogous in their complexity to those which cluster round reserve and candour and honour in other sacred relationships of private life, *e.g.* marriage, and of public life, *e.g.* political advancement or journalistic influence. Perhaps we hear more about it because the ideals of a religious life are conveniently deemed the most exacting, or because ministers of religion feel more deeply or betray their sensitiveness more patently than other men. Before the problem is pronounced easy of solution, it may be well to ponder such considerations as the following, assuming only that complete and utter loss of faith in the standards of one's Church is not in question, that a genuine faith in God's Fatherhood, in Christ as the unique Son of God, and in His power to save the world, an acceptance of Holy Writ in its evident Spirit, and a devotion to the Church as the Divine instrument for the promotion of the Kingdom, are retained.

In every act of subscription to a historic or traditional Creed or Confession there are involved a group of parties and a combination of sacred interests, just as in every oath of political or military fidelity and obedience there is a tacit contract with very real conditions to be observed on both sides. The soldier's oath—"I do make oath that

I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Fifth, his Heirs and Successors, and that I will, as in duty bound, faithfully and honestly defend His Majesty, King George the Fifth, his Heirs and Successors, in person, Crown, and Dignity, against all enemies; and that I will observe and obey all orders of His Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and of the Generals and officers set over me. So help me God"—seems absolute enough, but can it morally disfranchise the soldier from his responsibilities as a free citizen, in which capacity it might appear to him right to vote for the establishment of a republic, or does it involve all manner of obedience to the extent of uttering mendacious statements, or perjury, in order to protect the good name of the service or of the staff, and even to the extent of taking life against the dictates of one's conscience? The oath to a King is an oath to one's country, not to an individual whose will is arbitrary and whose mind one cannot foreknow. The Member of a Free Parliament who swears loyalty to the King or to the settled constitution, is notwithstanding entrusted with a sacred responsibility to amend by all fair means not only the working of the constitution but its very contents, if need arise. Though in our time the freedom of a Parliamentary representative is grossly and humiliatingly encroached upon by the power of party organization, by the narrowing of his duty to the mere execution of a "mandate," and most of all by the plain necessity of pleasing the majority by whose will alone he sits, he would, as a man of honour, resent to the uttermost any denial of his judicial and initiative responsibility in the legislature.

In the Christian ministry there are the sanctities of the office to be preserved inviolate. Is it a priesthood merely, donning an ephod, administering to the letter set forms and ceremonies? Is not, in New Testament phrase, "prophesying" one of its primary functions? Can the tongue of a prophet-preacher be tied, his lips sealed, by any ordinance of man? Let it be known throughout the

Protestant world that the minister of religion is to be a hireling advocate of a prescribed set of propositions, of a dogmatic cause laid down three centuries ago, and the ministry would repel the youth of every land and perish in a generation. If a man is commissioned to teach, he must be trusted as so far an authority. Spiritual incompetence must be proved to warrant his arrest. If you must dispense with him, let him go in honour. Say you dislike his teaching; do not blacken his name by calling him a heretic. It were a strange world in which the sheep dictated to the shepherds, even as it were a sorry shepherd who starved or flouted the proper instincts of his flock. Let there be no mistake about it that discredit and ruin stare in the face both Church and ministry in which the "liberty of prophesying" is denied. That the danger is grave and real, the abiding point and truth of the proverb concerning the prophet's reception in his own country is enough in every age to prove. Are prophetic voices always to be driven to the fields, whether they issue from men clad in priestly vestments or in monkish habits or in Geneva gowns? Has the Word of the Lord no need of channels nowadays for its fresh outpouring? The system which dreads and banishes, or chains within its preachers every impulse of the prophetic spirit, is pharisaic and legalistic to the core: let it read for itself anew the stern denunciations of the Arch-victim of pharisaic and scribal oppression. It is the easiest thing in the world to say with plausibility that new teachings must not sound from our pulpits until they have been authorised. Authorised, it is presumed, by General Assemblies, or Houses of Bishops, or Vatican authorities. But if the individual preacher has no initiative of change in his pulpit, how comes it that he has that power as a member of Assembly? Is his subscription oath relaxed during Assembly season, or when he is promoted to a bishopric? Are the vows of a Bishop and a Cardinal and a Pope less rigid and less paralysing than those of a parish priest? Besides, if the pulpit is dumb, how can public opinion be advanced? If trained

theologians and preachers because of their professional standing may not speak out, who can with equal competence instruct the many, and so prepare for the ultimate authorization of new ideas? Are laymen alone free to think honestly aloud, to diverge from the deep ruts in the beaten track of custom? There is no difference between Curialism and Presbyterianism if the individual is mute or muzzled in both; both are condemned. History and experience prove that most great and lasting changes for good have been pioneered by humble men: soft hands and fine linen go ill with the woodman's axe and the settler's mattock. It is childish in such issues for grown men to remain in leading strings and wait with hands meekly folded until some grand-maternal voice has set them free. Without the aid of living voices, change, however rightful, can never come. All truth, all revelation, has once been minority opinion,—even the most popular. There is not a single doctrine of the Christian Faith, however elementary, which has not had to run the gauntlet of scorn and distrust and dislike. If subscription be narrow and exacting, it is palpably wrong to require men at the very start of their life-work, when their minds are still opening and their convictions necessarily immature, to swear undeviating allegiance to a system. And it is folly to lavish wealth upon their intellectual training if they are to live as serfs, for they would be happier and more muscular without it, would need plainer fare, sleep better of nights, and cost much less to the end of their days. As A. B. Bruce has said:[1] "The pulpit is the place of the *prophet*, to whose utterances men never have been and never will be indifferent; to speech, that is to say, about God and the great questions of religion at first hand, by men who see with their own eyes, and feel deeply and truly, and speak as they see and feel; not in hackneyed phraseology, but in their own natural tongue. The pulpit is a perennial institution, an invaluable means for diffusing among

[1] *The Kingdom of God*, Edin. 1889, p. 331.

the people the elevating influence of healthy religious thought, requiring in order to its full usefulness to be carefully guarded against enslavement, whether by traditional creeds or by current opinion, but when able to assert its liberty sure to command general respect and wield great spiritual power."

Nor will it do to say that, if a man is dissatisfied with the creed of his fathers, he is free to go to some other Church or if need be to found another. If there are such other bodies they are due to schism, the blame for which may reside not least with the majority from which they were cut off; if there are not such bodies at hand, it were schism to found them. High-spirited and sensitive Christian souls in our age have no appetite for secession any more than for submission. Moreover, they are proudly conscious that they have a sacred birthright in the Church of their forefathers and of their earliest associations. They would as soon break up their homes as cleave their Church in twain. Turned out of doors they may be, go out they will not, so long as heart and conscience suffer or command them to stay. It is the schismatic spirit that would drive them out: it is the catholic spirit that prompts them to remain. This is generally admitted in reference to ordinary church-membership and church-attendance. As even Henry Sidgwick puts it:[1] "It is not only that the members of such a body do not always withdraw when they have ceased to hold any of its fundamental doctrines; but it is not expected that they should withdraw: they violate no common understanding in not withdrawing. And this is because feelings that everyone must respect make it impossible for a man voluntarily to abandon a church as easily as he would withdraw from a scientific or philanthropic association. The ties that bind him to it are so much more intimate and sacred, that their severance is proportionally more painful. The close relations of kinship and friendship in which he may stand to individual members of the congregation present obstacles

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 128.

to severance which all, in practice, recognise, if not in theory; but even to the community itself, and its worship, he is still bound by the strong bands of hereditary affection, ancient habit, and, possibly, religious sympathies outliving doctrinal agreement. Let us grant that these considerations ought not to weigh against disagreement on essential points. The question remains, Who is to be the judge of essentiality? For it often happens—probably most often at the present day—that the point at issue, though selected as fundamental by the Church, is not so regarded by the divergent individual: it may very likely appear to him to possess no religious importance whatsoever, and therefore to give him no personal motive for secession. A man who feels no impulse to leave a community, and sees no religious or moral gain in joining any other, can hardly be expected to excommunicate himself; others, sympathizing with his motives, shrink from excommunicating him." Now nothing is more clear than that, ethically, the minister and his lay fellow-worshipper are exactly in the same position, especially in Churches which profess the universal priesthood of believers, and therewith the universal duty of uttering God's truth as one has learned it. The problem of subscription is morally the same as the problem of conformity. To stand at hymn or creed or entrance of clergy, to kneel at prayer, to receive the memorial elements, are acts analogous in moral implication to subscription of a traditional and official confession. A falsehood is not less sinful acted than written. For one who, in Lord Morley's expressive phrase, can "offer a pinch of incense to the elder gods," and bows before "the sovereign legend of Pity," it is in the highest degree unethical to distinguish odiously between the two classes of "conformers." It may be surmised that there is an academic danger lest the *odium theologicum*, which became a byword on lay lips to express a just contempt for the bickerings of rival doctrinaires within the Church, may come to denote the equally offensive and reprehensible state of mind which shows itself in lay hatred of theologians

and churchmen as a class, and in an unworthy readiness to impute to them a dishonesty in which their critics, judged by like standards as lay conformers, are equally involved, although they complacently ignore the fact. Is it too much to ask from a tolerant and discerning age that sympathy and insight and patient judgment be meted out to brave and self-denying men who count it no sacrifice to forfeit material advancement in the professional world, and conscientiously devote their gifts to the ministry of the greatest Institution which the world has ever known, or will ever know, whose work, to put it no higher, is described by Sidgwick himself as the greatest moralising agency on earth, with the added words : " the most advanced thinker can hardly suppose that this will not continue to be the case for an indefinite time to come." By all means let the light of criticism beat fairly on the sacred office, but let nothing be said of it which shall filch from it its good name and power for good.

Assent to a historic Creed or Group of Articles, under whatever formula, involves a reference, not merely to what is fondly termed the *plain meaning* of its sentences, but also to its historical meaning, purpose, background, and spirit. It is not more antiquated, unjust, and disastrous to accept the Bible in the letter of its language without subordinating the Old Testament to the New and both to the Spirit of Christ, and without regard to historical and linguistic and textual research and its invaluable interpretative aids, than it is to prescribe or accept a subordinate and vastly inferior document without some knowledge of the spiritual and scholarly attitude of its formulators, and of the limited purpose and information behind their work. This higher criticism of Creeds, it must be acknowledged, is all to their advantage, as well as to the advantage of their present-day subscribers. We can in most cases place ourselves, with rough accuracy at least, at their standpoint, do justice to those questions which stirred them, appreciate their silence on questions which were not raised, and realise how in their day they stood for constitutional

liberty and new light. Such study, as we have seen in previous chapters, produces fresh sympathy with them and a more willing loyalty. Often it brings with it strange discoveries, as in the classical example of Newman's investigation of the aim and original scope of the formulation of the English Articles. Though Newman and his Tractarian allies searched with a fixed purpose of discovering "Catholic" motives and expressions, and pressed their ingenuity of interpretation occasionally to grotesquely casuistical conclusions, it is unquestionable that they were justified in setting the Articles and the Prayer-book with the Homilies over, against each other, and in redisclosing forgotten temporizings with Roman Catholicism, haltings and compromises between Lutheran and Calvinistic and Romanist opinions and usages, which were natural to the general home and foreign policy of Queen Elizabeth and her advisers. "It was thrown in our teeth"; writes Newman in the *Apologia*, in the sketch of his religious opinions from 1833 to 1839, "'How can you manage to sign the Articles? They are directly against Rome.' 'Against Rome?' I made answer, 'What do you mean by Rome?' and then I proceeded to make distinctions, of which I shall now give an account. By 'Roman doctrine' might be meant one of three things: 1, the *Catholic teaching* of the early three centuries; or 2, the *formal dogmas of Rome* as contained in the later Councils, especially the Council of Trent, and as condensed in the Creed of Pope Pius IV.; 3, the *actual popular beliefs and usages* sanctioned by Rome in the countries in communion with it, over and above the dogmas; and these I called 'dominant errors.' Now Protestants commonly thought that in all three senses 'Roman Doctrine' was condemned in the Articles: I thought that the *Catholic teaching* was not condemned; that the *dominant errors* were; and as to the *formal dogmas*, that some were, some were not, and that the line had to be drawn between them. Thus, 1, the use of prayers for the dead was a Catholic doctrine—not condemned; 2, the prison of Purgatory was a Roman

dogma—which was condemned; but the infallibility of Ecumenical Councils was a Roman dogma—not condemned; and 3, the fire of Purgatory was an authorized and popular error, not a dogma—which was condemned. Further, I considered that the difficulties, felt by the persons whom I have mentioned, mainly lay in their mistaking, 1, Catholic teaching, which was not condemned in the Articles, for Roman dogma which was condemned; and 2, Roman dogma, which was not condemned in the Articles, for dominant error which was. . . . A further motive which I had for my attempt was the desire to ascertain the ultimate points of contrariety between the Roman and Anglican Creeds, and to make them as few as possible. I thought that each Creed was obscured and misrepresented by a dominant, circumambient 'Popery,' and 'Protestantism.' The main thesis, then, of my Essay was this: the Articles do not oppose Catholic teaching; they but partially oppose Roman dogma; they for the most part oppose the dominant errors of Rome. And the problem was to draw the line as to what they allowed, and what they condemned."[1] What Newman was constitutionally unable or unwilling to discuss in his investigation was the further question as to the continued authority of the Anglican Sovereign and Church to lay down fresh Articles, or to reconstrue the old, in the light of the historical circumstance that only considerations of prudence and statecraft prevented the Elizabethan legislation from being far more thoroughly Protestant than it actually was. What dogmatic power did the Elizabethan Church possess which the Victorian lacked? It similarly comes as a surprise to staunch upholders of Westminster doctrine to learn, by reference to the Minutes of the Assembly, not only how much of compromise entered into its formulations, but how much of liberal and enlightened scholarship went to its making, how frank and protracted were its debates, how narrow at times

[1] See also the whole context, Chap. II., and the famous Preface to the Edition of 1865.

the majorities, how free and honourable was the weekly oath taken by its framers,[1] and how unlike the test imposed upon its later subscribers, how averse was the attitude of many of the Divines to creed subscription, as having, in the words of one of their leaders, "been burnt in the hand in that kind already," and how, as modern Biblical scholars, they not only rejected the Apocrypha, were silent on the "inspiration of the Hebrew vowel-points," did not assign Hebrews to Paul's authorship, and rested the authority of Scripture solely on the inner witness of the Spirit. It were disloyalty to such men to accept the letter of their work and to break with its spirit, to credit their Assembly with an inerrancy which they denied to all Church Councils, and make their Articles a standard instead of, as they insisted even for the highest human findings, merely a help to faith.

It is further to be observed that, when minutes and records are forthcoming, dispassionate study of a historical Confession invariably pricks the bubble of its reputed absolute authority. Distance lends dignity to its framers. Publication invests its conclusions with an air of unanimity they did not possess. If you learn that in the Westminster Assembly a slender, or even a considerable, majority carried some particular finding only after long and anxious discussion, what are you to think of the finality or imperativeness of their injunction of it? If it was lawful in that Assembly to be in the minority and yet for the sake of peace acquiesce in the finding of the majority and retain one's status, how is it sin in their successors to cherish minority opinion? It appears, in matters of conscience and truth, to be dubiously moral or competent to impose a unanimity which does not really exist among the imposers. If infallibility does not belong to the members of a Council, how is it credible that their majority resolutions acquired it?

Subscription further implies some reference to the *ecclesia imponens*. If, for example, it is notorious that

[1] See p. 267 *supra*.

the Church has lost its belief in certain portions of its historic standard, and this applies to most ancient Confessions in some particulars, it may be readily agreed that qualms of conscience over formal subscription in respect of them would be a sign of hyper-sensitiveness, of enfeebled common-sense. If, on the contrary, it is notorious that the majority of its ministers still cherish strong and anxious scruples about the retention of some point of doctrine which most of its younger preachers and scholars are abandoning, the case is less clear and easy, but one who is willing to take the risk may surely enter with his mind relieved on similar principles by his knowledge of a coming consensus of changed opinion. Nor is it possible, even for the most jealously truth-loving mind, consistently to set a limit to the influence of such considerations. For the living mind of the imposing Church is comprehensive of widely divergent opinions, just as the Church, alike in ministry and in membership, and especially a national Church, is comprehensive of different parties and types, High, Low, and Broad, and of the elect few who are all in one. It would tax the powers of the most consummate casuist to pronounce judgment upon such cases. If the subscriber believes that he is loyal to the spirit and essence of the historic faith of his parental Church, and that God calls him to its ministry, it will matter little to him, if he be a man of power and courage, whether his fellow-workers who think precisely with him are few or many. Too much is often made of this form of ecclesiastical authority. Ethically it counts but little in the problem. There are responsibilities of which neither bishop, nor church-court, nor eddying popular opinion, can remove the direct moral burden. If the Christian minister is charged with any measure of prophetic vocation, he may be assisted on his lonely path by the example set him by the Prophet of Prophets, who went His way heedless of the current fashions of thought either among the teachers of Israel or among the multitudes who were as "sheep without a shepherd," devoutly conforming to the system as He

had inherited it, yet revolutionizing to the heart its inner life.

In Subscription there is also a reference to the Congregation of the Church. It is intended, it is urged with justice, to protect them from the instructions of unsuitable and unworthy teachers, to shield the fold from wolves. Does it really suffice? The unscrupulous teacher is just the man who will gulp down a thousand Articles or Formulæ, with scarce a tremor of uneasiness in the result. Is the wolf more welcome for donning a sheepskin and slinking into the fold with the flock? Experience has shown, for example, in all the Churches during the eighteenth century, that such safeguards are impotent before the spirit of a preoccupied or hostile or contemptuous age. In reality, their only effect is to scare away many of the most conscientious aspirants to the ministry, or, as we have seen, to torment with needless and exhausting misgivings many of the finest natures in the most critical and formative years of their work. And what if they "protect" the flock from God's new Truth, and deny them shepherds who can lead to fresh pastures and untrodden watersides?

Finally, it may be urged, that in many cases subscription, if it limits, at least confers limited freedom, protects the individual from caprice alike in his superiors or ordinaries, and in his congregation. It supersedes local trust-deeds, overrules the petty tyrannies of local managers, and gives a stable tenure of office to the man who abides by its standards. There is truth in the plea, though one may exaggerate its value, and overrate the worth and the attractiveness, in an office like the ministry, of such merely legal entrenchments. But unquestionably, as the Confession advances in antiquity, its growing distance and estrangement from the living forms of later thought facilitate the growth of tolerant appreciation of clerical diversities, and therewith the general security of clerical liberty to preach the good news of God as each man believes the Spirit directs him.

Considerations such as the foregoing may well arrest

the cheap and cruel sneer that men who have lost faith in the Church, or have a quarrel with her ministry, too often launch at clerical conformity. Let them sweep out their own hearthside before they condescend to lend their broom to the Household of the Faith, in which they have eaten bread and received shelter. Let them cherish a statesmanlike, if not a churchmanlike, appreciation of the difficulties which inhere in the most sacred of all earthly services. Allowance must be made for the element of legitimate compromise inseparable from all great social organizations. Loyalty to the spirit and general tenor of the teaching, not to the letter, alone can be expected in public as distinct from private standards. If the society or corporation adjudges the individual servant to have transgressed the common understanding, it can always employ the time-honoured instrument of excommunication to rid itself of him, or he may withdraw himself and renounce communion, as many priests and not a few ministers are doing, if he is conscious that he has overstepped the reasonable limits of variation. Each must decide for himself, or itself, on such a question. But it ought to be kept in mind that the minister is not the servant of the Church, whether hired or voluntary. "Call no man master or authoritative teacher" has been whispered in his ear. One is his Master, and all are brethren in the Church which He has founded, fellow-members of His Body still on earth. No rule can be laid down which will cover all cases equitably. The Lord of the Church has left much to the conscience of His followers. Who shall repine? A sense of honour, a searching self-examination and scrutiny of motive, on the part of the individual, a sense of chivalry and forbearance on the part of the community, and patient Christian tact and consideration on the part of both, must in each particular instance decide, in the light of all the circumstances.

Such considerations, however, ought also to strengthen the case for timely and courageous revision of church-standards, or at least, readjustment of the terms of their

subscription, as the years advance, and thought moves forward on unresting feet, so that the terms they employ grow obsolete or convey changed meanings, and once familiar moulds of human reflection are disused and broken. Completely new Confessions are not yet to be looked for, but they will come. There is truth in the words of A. B. Bruce: "Creeds cannot be manufactured to order, nor is creed-making the business of every age. Creed-tinkering is possible at any time, but making a new creed is a different affair. A new creed, fresh in conception and expression, is the work of a creative, not of a critical age, and the outcome of a new religious life. A fresh intuition of Christ, and a new Christian enthusiasm . . . would have for one of its results a fresh formulation of Christian belief bearing an entirely different stamp from that of the historical Protestant Confessions. Till the new life come, we had better let the making of a new creed alone, and be content with acknowledging in one way or another that things as they are are far from satisfactory. For this is emphatically one of those matters to which the wise observation of the late William Denny applies: 'There are problems in the spiritual and social world which are like some of our metals, altogether refractory to low temperatures. They will only melt with great heat, and there is no other possibility of melting them.' Whence is the needful heat to come? Not certainly from the friction of theological controversy which has rent the Church asunder into innumerable fragments, but from the central Sun of the spiritual world, dispelling with His beams the mists of ages, and shining forth once more in full effulgence."

Dare one venture on a sketch of the ideal Creed which shall rally our shattered ranks, and heal the hurt of Christ's Church? It is no part of the purpose of this work to air the author's experiments in symbol-fashioning. If he has essayed already one task beyond his powers in writing a descriptive history of dogma, he would not add to it another presumptuous effort by contributing to the long

array of confessions, public and private, great and small, precious and worthless, living and dead, "little systems" that have had their day, or "broken lights" that still glance with unquenched power. But he is free to acknowledge that, in spite of what the Christian world calls "risks," his heart goes out increasingly to the forms of the New Testament, to the simplicities of the Apostolic Age in whose holy records the Christian spirit still finds its greenest pastures and its stillest waters. It will be in the sacred words of Holy Writ alone that the Churches shall finally find the symbol of their recovered unity, perchance in the first Creed, the Creed of Peter which his Lord accepted as inspired, whose acceptance was the signal for His transfiguration, and, sacred mystery, the signal also that He should set His face towards Jerusalem and His decease, since the eternal foundation-stone at last was laid in one trembling human heart. If our *yea* is to mean *yea*, the words we utter after a pattern so hallowed may well be few and simple, for, as Carlyle says in *Heroes*, "You cannot make an association out of insincere men: you cannot build an edifice except by plummet and level —at *right* angles to one another," and what Ruskin says in *Modern Painters* of painting may be applied to religious testimony: "Remember always . . . the greater your strength the quieter will be your manner, and the fewer your words." With native wit and picturesqueness an Irish preacher has sensibly remarked, "I would rather have a creed with one workable article than thirty-nine that are bedridden." Let the creed of the future be simple, direct, and telling. It is the demand of the best thought of our time. Three honoured Scottish teachers of catholic spirit, preachers of no mean order also, have voiced it in words which deserve to be repeated. "Imagine," says John Watson, "a body of Christians who should take their stand on the Sermon of Jesus, and conceive their creed on His lines. Imagine how it would read: *I believe in the Fatherhood of God; I believe in the words of Jesus; I believe in the clean heart; I believe in the service of love;*

I believe in the unworldly life ; I believe in the Beatitudes ; I promise to trust God and follow Christ, to forgive my enemies and to seek after the righteousness of God." [1] Professor James Denney, discussing "the basis of union among Christians of which the Churches are in quest," says,[2] "It was not Christology in any sense in which Christians were one from the beginning, and the *Formula Concordiæ*, which the perplexed conscience of multitudes in all the Churches is at present seeking, cannot be a theological document. It must be a declaration which will bind men to Christ as believers have been bound from the beginning, but which will also leave them in possession of the birthright of New Testament Christians—the right and the power of applying their own minds, with conscientious freedom, to search out the truth of what Jesus is and does, and to read all things in the light of it—the world and God, nature and history, the present and the future of man. Reserving, then, this right and power, it only remains to ask whether we can put the religious truth about Jesus, the significance which He has for the faith of Christians, into words which all who adopt the Christian attitude to Him would recognize as the expression of their faith. Such words would not be doctrinal or dogmatic, in the sense of the Nicene Creed, or of the Augsburg or the Westminster Confession ; they would not be an utterance the same in kind, but simpler in form, and less ambitious in aim ; they would be the immediate utterance of the Christian sense of what faith has in Christ, not the speculative or reflective statement—as these other documents all are in varying degrees—of metaphysical truths concerning Christ which must be admitted if we would justify our faith. The truth they embody would not be itself a creed, in the sense of a scientific or theologically defined statement ; it would not be the substitute for a creed : it would be the inspiration and the standard of all Christian thinking. Looking back to the investiga-

[1] *The Mind of the Master*, Lond. 1896, pp. 20, 21 ; cf. p. 269.
[2] *Jesus and the Gospel*, Lond. 1908, pp. 397, 398.

tions which we have just completed, and recalling the significance which Jesus had in His own mind, and has always had in the minds of Christians, it is perhaps not too bold to suggest that the symbol of the Church's unity might be expressed thus: *I believe in God through Jesus Christ His only Son, our Lord and Saviour.*" Last of the three, Robert Flint, the theologian and philosopher to whose memory this book is affectionately offered as a pupil's tribute, in his masterly treatise on *Agnosticism*,[1] has bequeathed to us this final outcome of his laborious life-work: "We ought to distinguish between those eternal religious verities a realization of which is directly and immediately necessary to the welfare of our spirits, and all questions regarding religion which may be interesting but the solution of which is not indispensable. A very short creed may be much better than a long one, and quite sufficient if received intelligently and firmly. The Lord's Prayer is short; but if a man thoroughly believe it—thoroughly believe in God's Fatherhood, man's brotherhood, the sacredness of God's name, the grandeur and the claims of God's kingdom, the obligations of God's will, and our dependence on Him for the supply of our bodily wants, for pardoning mercy, and for deliverance from temptation and evil—he will not only pray aright but live aright, need fall into no very deadly error, may safely be content to form no conclusion as to many keenly debated religious questions, and to take no part in many distracting religious controversies, but apply himself heartily and joyously to serve God in whatever work He in His providence assigns him." It should be remembered that there is no evidence that Christ exacted or expected any identity of detailed belief from His Disciples, or equipped His Apostles with any precisely uniform message to the world. It is certain that the Apostles were never confronted with documents or declarations in any sense analogous to the Confessions of modern Christendom, or even to the Creeds of the ancient Church. Their faith

[1] Edin. 1903, p. 456.

was personal and in a Person. Whenever we are assured that the faith of a fellow-Christian is also personal and directed towards the same Person, we should beware of withholding fellowship from him because of minor differences. Grave as may seem to us the points in which the Christian Churches differ from one another, and desirable as it may be that the best system should ultimately absorb the others, it were pitiable to suggest that the gate of the Kingdom of Heaven is barred against all save one particular denomination. If to the Fisherman Apostle it was given to hold the Keys, it will be difficult for him to refuse admission to the Christians of all communions who can unreservedly profess in his own earlier or later words, "Thou art the Christ, Son of the Living God," or more simply still, "Thou knowest that I love Thee."

APPENDICES.

TABLE I. Illustrating the Rise of the Ancient Creeds.

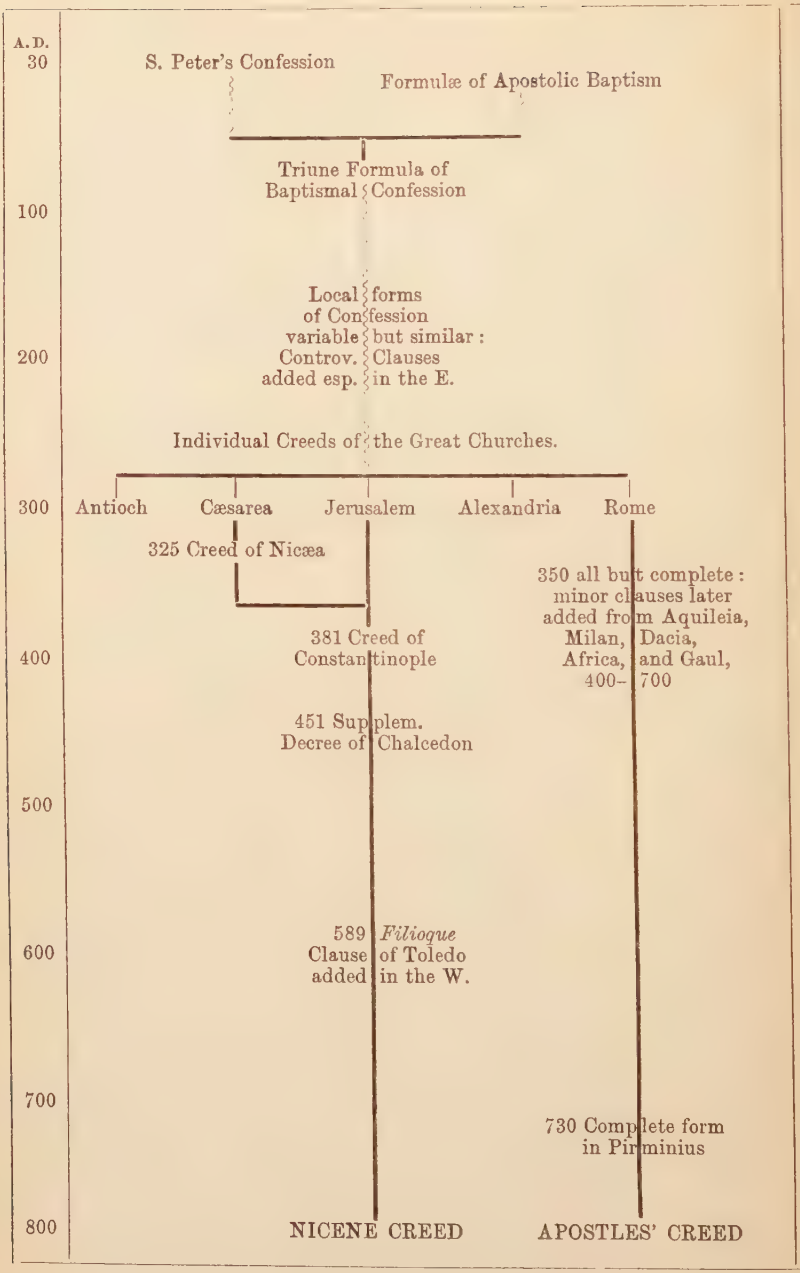
„ II. Illustrating the Evolution of the Apostles' Creed.

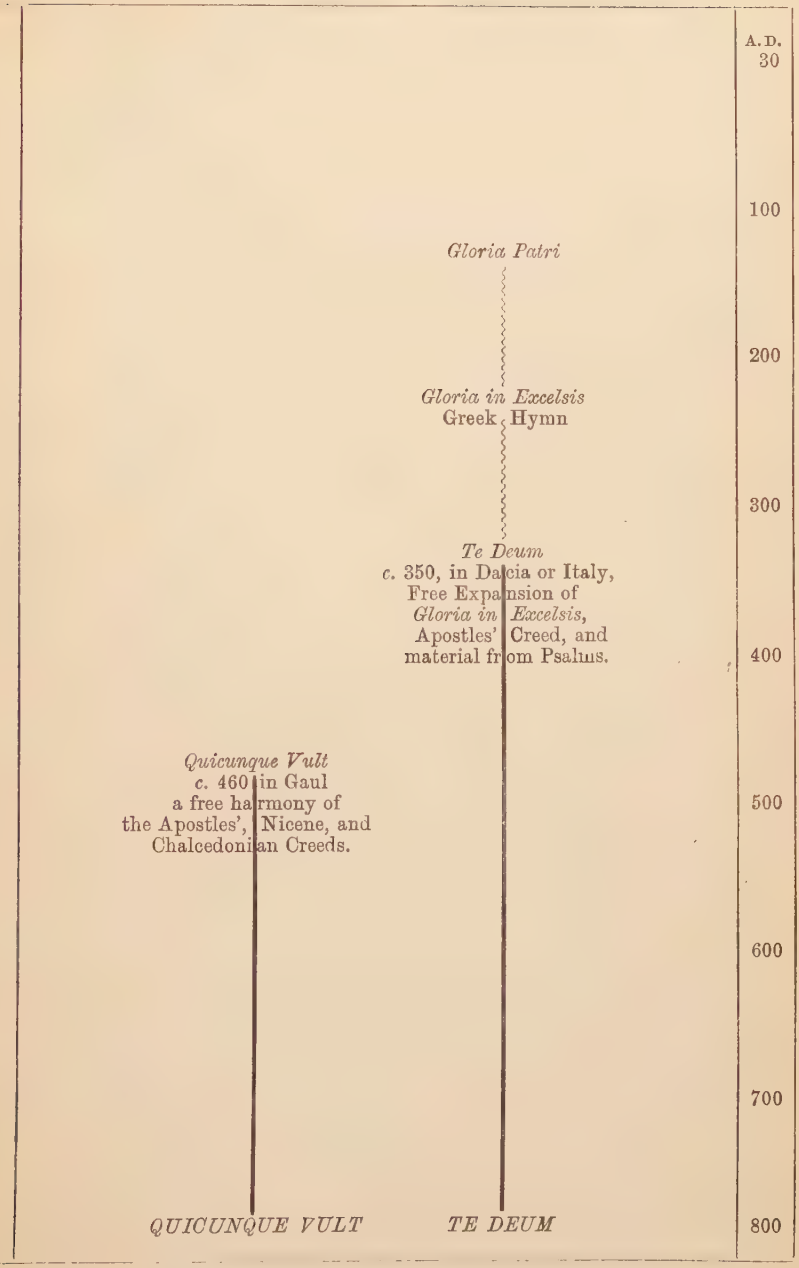
„ III. Illustrating the Confessional Divisions of the Church.

„ IV. Illustrating the History of Confessions of Faith in Modern Christendom.

LIST OF CONTRACTIONS USED IN TABLE IV.

A.	Articles	Dns. . . .	Declarations
Ap.	Apology	F.	Formula
B.	Book	Fm.	Form
C.	Confession	Int.	Interim
Cs. . . .	Confessions	P.B. . . .	Prayer-Book
Cls. . . .	Conclusions	Pm.	Platform
Cm.	Catechism	Prs.	Principles
Cms. . . .	Catechisms	Pts.	Points
Cns.	Canons	Rec.	Recension
Coll.	Colloquy	Rep.	Repetition
Const. . .	Constitution	Rev.	Revision
Cov.	Covenant	Syll.	Syllabus
Css.	Consensus	St.	Statement
D.	Decree	Test.	Testimony
Ds.	Decrees	Tests. . .	Testimonies
Dn.	Declaration	Th.	Theses


A.D.
30
S. Peter's Confession
Formulæ of Apostolic Baptism
Triune Formula of Baptismal Confession
100
Local forms of Confession variable but similar : Controv. Clauses added esp. in the E.
200
Individual Creeds of the Great Churches.
300
Antioch
Cæsarea
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Rome
325 Creed of Nicæa
350 all but complete : minor clauses later added from Aquileia, Milan, Dacia, Africa, and Gaul, 400–700
381 Creed of Constantinople
400
451 Supplem. Decree of Chalcedon
500
589 Clause added *Filioque* of Toledo in the W.
600
700
730 Complete form in Pirminius
800
NICENE CREED
APOSTLES' CREED


A.D.
30
100
200
300
400
500
600
700
800
Gloria Patri
Gloria in Excelsis
Greek Hymn
Te Deum
c. 350, in Dalcia or Italy,
Free Expansion of
Gloria in Excelsis,
Apostles' Creed, and
material from Psalms.
Quicunque Vult
c. 460 in Gaul
a free harmony of
the Apostles', Nicene, and
Chalcedonian Creeds.
QUICUNQUE VULT
TE DEUM

	S. PETER (Mt. xvi. 16). S. PAUL (1 Cor. xii. 3). S. JOHN (1 Jn. iv. 15).	APOSTOLIC CONVERTS, *e.g.* THE EUNUCH IN ACTS viii. 37.	JUSTIN MARTYR, *c.* 150. EPHESUS, ROME.	DIONYSIUS, *c.* 250. ROME.
I.				Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα,
II.	Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος. Κύριος Ἰησοῦς. Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ.	Πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.	[Ἰησοῦς ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ.]	καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ,
III.				
IV.				
V.				
VI.				
VII.				
VIII.				καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.
IX.				
X.				
XI.				
XII.				

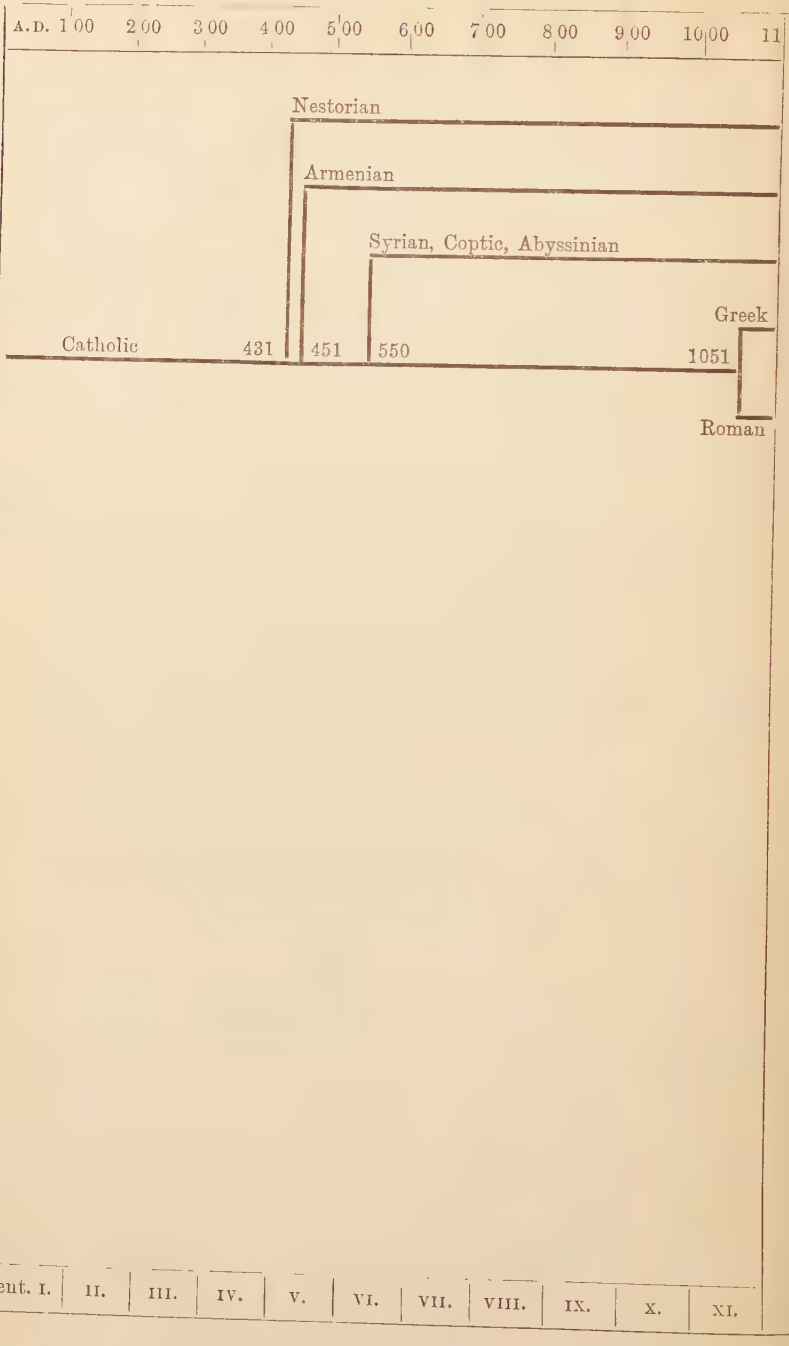
Cyril, c. 350. Jerusalem.	Novatian, c. 260. Rome.	Cyprian, c. 255. Carthage.	Irenæus, c. 180. Smyrna, Rome, Gaul.
Πιστεύω εἰς τὸν Πατέρα,	Credo in Deum Patrem et Dominum omnipotentem:	Credo in Deum Patrem;	Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν παντοκράτορα, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα·
καὶ εἰς τὸν Υἱόν,	Et in Filium Dei, Christum Iesum, Dominum Deum nostrum, sed Dei Filium	In Filium Christum;	καὶ εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα·
	[Ex Maria;		
	Resurrecturum a mortuis;		
	Sessurum ad dexteram Patris		
	Iudicem omnium:]		
καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον,	Et in Spiritum Sanctum.	In Spiritum Sanctum.	καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ.
	[. . . Ecclesiam . . .	(See XII. below)	
καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.		Credo Remissionem Peccatorum,	
	Resurrectionem]		
		Et Uitam æternam per Sanctam Ecclesiam.	

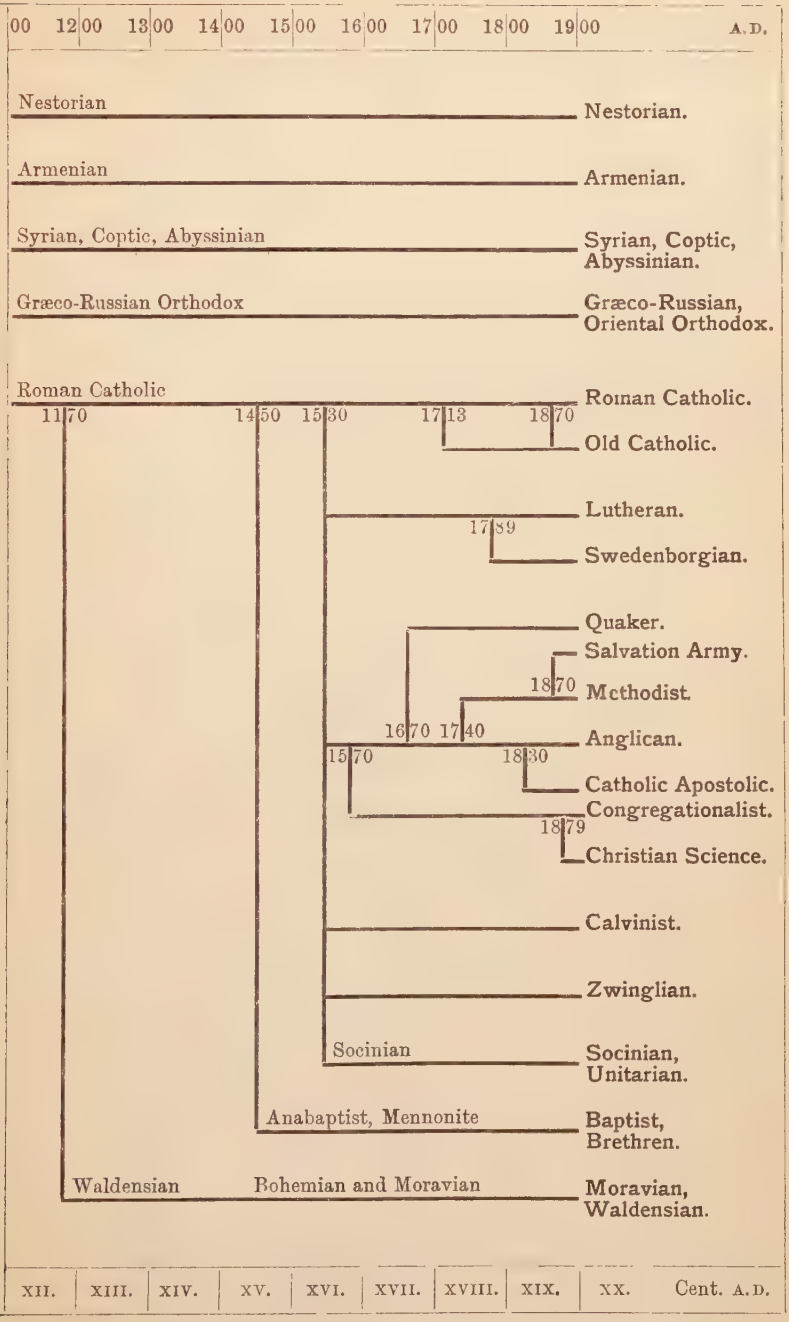
	IRENÆUS, *c.* 180. SMYRNA, ROME, GAUL.	TERTULLIAN, *c.* 200. ROME, CARTHAGE.	ORIGEN, *c.* 230. ALEXANDRIA.	LUCIAN, *c.* 300. ANTIOCH.
I.	Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν	Credo in unicum Deum omnipotentem, mundi Conditorem :	Credimus in unum Deum, qui omnia creauit atque composuit :	Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν, Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργὸν τε καὶ ποιητὴν καὶ προνοητήν·
II.	καὶ εἰς ἕνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ·	Et Filium eius Iesum Christum ;	Et in Iesum Christum, Dominum nostrum ; ante omnem creaturam ex Patre natum ;	Καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν μονογενῆ Θεόν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, τὸν γεννηθέντα πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός.
III.	τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας· [. . . VIII. below . . .] καὶ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν·	Natum ex Maria Uirgine ;	Ex Uirgine et Spiritu Sancto natum, hominem factum, incarnatum ;	. . . τὸν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν κατελθόντα ἄνωθεν, καὶ γεννηθέντα ἐκ παρθένου, κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ἄνθρωπον γενόμενον·
IV.	καὶ τὸ πάθος·	[Passum] sub Pontio Pilato crucifixum ; [mortuum et sepultum secundum Scripturas ;]	Passum in ueritate, uere mortuum ;	τὸν παθόντα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν·
V.	καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν·	Tertia die resuscitatum a mortuis ;	Uere a mortuis resurrectum ;	καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ·
VI.	καὶ τὴν ἔνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ ἠγαπημένου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν·	Receptum in Cælis ; sedentem nunc ad dexteram Patris,	Et assumptum :	καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθεσθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρός·
VII.	καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ Πατρὸς παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ . . . ἵνα κρίσιν δικαίαν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν ποιήσηται·	Uenturum iudicare uiuos et mortuos :		καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·
VIII.	καὶ εἰς Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκηρυχὸς τὰς οἰκονομίας καὶ τὰς ἐλεύσεις·	Spiritum Sanctum [Sanctificatorem Fidei eorum qui credunt . . .],	Et in Spiritum Sanctum.	Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον.
IX.				
X.	[. . . μετανοίας . . .			
XI.	. . . ἀναστῆσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος·	Per carnis etiam resurrectionem.		
XII.	ζωὴν . . . ἀφθαρσίαν . . .]			

Eusebius, *c.* 300. Cæsarea.	Cyril, *c.* 350. Jerusalem.	Marcellus, *c.* 340. Rome.	Rufinus, *c.* 400. Rome.
Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν, πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν τῶν ἁπάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν·	Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν, πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων·	Πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν παντοκράτορα·	Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem:
Καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον . . . υἱὸν μονογενῆ . . . δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα·	Καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο·	καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν·	Et in Christum Iesum, unicum filium eius, Dominum nostrum ;
τὸν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον·	σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα·	τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου·	Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Uirgine ;
καὶ παθόντα·	σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα.	τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα·	Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus ;
καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ·	καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ·	καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν·	Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;
καὶ ἀνελθόντα πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα·	καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθισάντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρός·	ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρός·	Ascendit in Cælos ; sedet ad dexteram Patris ;
καὶ ἥξοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·	καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος·	ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς·	Inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos :
Πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς ἓν Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον.	Καὶ εἰς ἓν Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ λαλῆσαν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις·	Καὶ εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα·	Et in Spiritum Sanctum ;
	καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν· (X.)	ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν·	Sanctam Ecclesiam ;
	καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· (IX.)	ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν·	Remissionem Peccatorum ;
	καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν·	σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν·	Carnis Resurrectionem.
	καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.	[ζωὴν αἰώνιον.]	

	RUFINUS, *c.* 400. AQUILEIA.	AUGUSTINE, *c.* 400. MILAN.	AUGUSTINE, *c.* 400. AFRICA.	NICETA, *c.* 400. DACIA.
I.	Credo in Deo Patre omnipotente, invisibili et impassibili :	Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem :	Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, uniuersorum Creatorem, Regem Sæculorum, immortalem et inuisibilem :	Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Cæli et Terræ Creatorem :
II.	Et in Christo Iesu, unico Filio eius, Domino nostro ;	Et in Iesum Christum, Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum ;	Credo et in Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum, Iesum Christum ;	Et in Filium eius Iesum Christum ;
III.	Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Uirgine Maria ;	Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Uirgine Maria ;	Natum de Spiritu Sancto ex Uirgine Maria ;	Natum ex Spiritu Sancto et ex Uirgine Maria ;
IV.	Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato, et sepultus, descendit in inferna ;	Passus est sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, et sepultus ;	Qui crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus est ;	Passum sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixum, mortuum ;
V.	Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;	Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;	Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;	Tertia die resurrexit uiuus a mortuis ;
VI.	Ascendit in Cælos ; sedet ad dexteram Patris ;	Ascendit in Cælum ; sedet ad dexteram Patris ;	Ascendit in Cælum ; sedet ad dexteram Patris ;	Ascendit in Cælos ; sedet ad dexteram Patris ;
VII.	Inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos :	Inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos :	Inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos :	Inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos :
VIII.	Et in Spiritu Sancto ;	Et in Spiritum Sanctum ;	Credo et in Spiritum Sanctum ;	Et in Spiritum Sanctum ;
IX.	Sanctam Ecclesiam ;	Sanctam Ecclesiam ;	[See XII. below]	Sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam ; communionem sanctorum ;
X.	Remissionem Peccatorum ;	Remissionem Peccatorum ;	Remissionem Peccatorum,	Remissionem Peccatorem ;
XI.	Huius Carnis Resurrectionem.	Carnis Resurrectionem.	Carnis et Resurrectionem,	Carnis Resurrectionem ;
XII.			Uitam æternam per sanctam Ecclesiam.	Et Uitam æternam.

Cæsarius, *c.* 500. Gaul.	Sacramentarium Gallicanum, *c.* 650. Gaul.	Bangor Antiphonary, *c.* 680. Ireland.	Pirminius, and Gregory III., *c.* 740. Rome.
Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem :	Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem Cæli et Terræ :	Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, invisibilem, omnium creaturarum visibilium et invisibilium Conditorem :	Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem Cæli et Terræ :
Credo et in Iesum Christum, Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum ;	Et in Iesum Christum Filium eius unigenitum sempiternum, Dominum nostrum ;	Credo in Iesum Christum, Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum, Deum omnipotentem ;	Et in Iesum Christum, Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum ;
Conceptum de Spiritu Sancto, natum ex Maria Uirgine ;	Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus est ex Maria Uirgine ;	Conceptum de Spiritu Sancto, natum de Maria Uirgine ;	Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Uirgine ;
Passum sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixum, mortuum, et sepultum ; ad inferna descendit ;	Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus ; descendit ad inferna ;	Passum sub Pontio Pilato, qui crucifixus et sepultus descendit ad inferos ;	Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus ; descendit ad inferna ;
Tertia die resurrexit ;	Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;	Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;	Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis ;
Ascendit in Cælis ; sedit in dextera Patris ;	Ascendit ad Cælos ; sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis ;	Ascendit in Cælis seditque ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis ;	Ascendit ad Cælos ; sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis ;
Inde uenturus iudicare uiuos et mortuos :	Inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos :	Exinde uenturus iudicare uiuos ac mortuos :	Inde uenturus est iudicare uiuos et mortuos :
Credo in Spiritum Sanctum ;	Et in Spiritum Sanctum ;	Credo et in Spiritum Sanctum, Deum omnipotentem unam habentem substantiam cum Patre et Filio ;	Credo in Spiritum Sanctum ;
Sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam ; communionem sanctorum ;	Sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem ;	Sanctam esse Ecclesiam catholicam ; sanctorum communionem ;	Sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem ;
Remissionem Peccatorum ;	Remissionem Peccatorum ;	Abremissa Peccatorum ;	Remissionem Peccatorum ;
Resurrectionem Carnis ;	Carnis Resurrectionem ;	Carnis Resurrectionem ;	Carnis Resurrectionem ;
Et Uitam æternam.	Et Uitam æternam.	Credo Uitam post mortem et uitam æternam in gloria Christi.	Et Uitam æternam.


A.D. 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000 11
Nestorian
Armenian
Syrian, Coptic, Abyssinian
Greek
Catholic
431
451
550
1051
Roman
Cent. I. II. III. IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI.


00 12|00 13|00 14|00 15|00 16|00 17|00 18|00 19|00 A.D.
Nestorian
Nestorian.
Armenian
Armenian.
Syrian, Coptic, Abyssinian
Syrian, Coptic, Abyssinian.
Græco-Russian Orthodox
Græco-Russian, Oriental Orthodox.
Roman Catholic
Roman Catholic.
11|70
14|50
15|30
17|13
18|70
Old Catholic.
Lutheran.
17|89
Swedenborgian.
Quaker.
Salvation Army.
18|70
Methodist.
16|70 17|40
Anglican.
15|70
18|30
Catholic Apostolic.
Congregationalist.
18|79
Christian Science.
Calvinist.
Zwinglian.
Socinian
Socinian, Unitarian.
Anabaptist, Mennonite
Baptist, Brethren.
Waldensian
Bohemian and Moravian
Moravian, Waldensian.
XII. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX. XX. Cent. A.D.

Date.	Græco-Russian.	Roman Catholic.	Waldensian, Mor., Bohem.	Lutheran.	Anglican.	Zwinglian.
					1381 Wyclif's 12 Theses.	
			1410 Hussite Catechism.			
	1453 C. of Gennadius.					
			1489 Wald. Cm. 'Smaller Qns.'			
Bef. 1500						
			1503 Bohem. C. to Vladislav II.			
1510				1517 Luther's 95 Theses.		
1520			1521 Boh. Cm.	1520–8 Early Luth. Cms.		1523 Zwingli's 67 A. of Zürich.
						1523 Zürich Introd. by Zw.
						1528 10 Cls. of Bern.
						1528 C. of E. Friesland.
				1529–30 A. of Marburg, Schwabach, and Torgau.		
				1529 Luther's Catechisms.		
1530				1530 Augsburg Confession.		1530 Zw.'s C. to Charles V.
				1530 Tausen's 43 Danish A.		1530 C. of Strassb. (Four Cities).
				1531 Apology of Augsburg C.		1531 Zw.'s C. to Francis I.
			1532 Boh. C. to George of Brandenburg.			1532 A. of Syn. of Bern.
						1534 1st C. of Basel.
			1535 1st Bohem. C. to Ferdinand I.	1535 1st Boh. C.	1536 10 A. of Henry VIII.	1536 1st Helvetic C. 10 Theses of Lausanne.
				1537 Articles of Schmalkald.	1537 Bishops' B. and Catechism.	
					1538 Cranmer's 13 Articles.	
					1539 6 Articles.	
1540				1540 Augsb. C. 'Variata' ed.		
					1543 King's B. and Catechism.	
				1545 A. of Erdöd in Hungary.		1545 C. of Zürich.
					1547 Cranmer's Catechism (fr. German).	
				1548 C. of Five Hung. Cities. Augsburg Int.		
				1549 Leipzig Int.	1549 Edw. VI.'s 1st P. B. Cranmer's A., Eng. Catechism.	1549 Consensus of Zürich.
1550						

Calvinist (Continental).	Calvinist (Brit. & Amer.).	Baptist.	Congregationalist.	Arminian, Methodist, Quaker.	Socinian, or Unitarian.	Date.
		Bef. 1500 Anabaptist Cm.				Bef. 1500
						1510
						1520
		1524–7 Anabpt. Sts. of Prs., Waldshut and Augsburg.				
						1530
		1532 C. & Th. of Rothmann, Münster. 1533 A. of Jan. Matthys. 1533 Münster Confession.				
1536 Calvin's Inst., edition 1. 1536 Geneva C. and Catechism, Fr.						
	1538–1563 Calvinistic elements in English Articles.					
						1540
1541 Geneva C., French, enlarged.						
1545 Geneva C., Lat. 1545 C. of Zürich.						
1549 Css. of Zürich.						
						155

Date.	Græco-Russian.	Roman Catholic.	Waldensian, Mor., Bohem.	Lutheran.	Anglican.	Zwinglian.
1550				1551 Saxon C.		
				1552 Swabian or Würtemberg C.	1552 Ed. VI., 2nd P. B., Rev. Articles.	1552 Rhætian C.
					1553 Ed. VI., 42 Articles.	
		1554 Cm. of Canisius.			1554 Articles of Marian Prisoners.	
					1555 Gardiner's Articles.	
					1558 5 Articles.	
				1559 Stuttgart Confession.	1559 Elizab. Rev. of Ed. VI.'s P. B. Parker's 11 Articles	
1560				1560–1571 Crypto-Calv. Saxon Statements.		
						1562 2nd Helvetic C. of Bullinger.
		1563 Cns. and Ds. of Trent.			1563 39 A. & Cm.	
		1564 Prof. of Faith of Trent. Index.	1564 C. of Brethren.			
		1566 Roman Catechism.		1567 Prussian Corpus Doctrinæ.		
		1568 Breviary.				
1570			1570 Css. of Sendomir.	1570 Css. of Sendomir.		
				1571 Css. of Dresden.	1571 Final fm. of 39 Articles	
		1572 Missal.				
				1574–5 Swab. & Sax. F.		
			1575 2nd Bohemian C.	1575 2nd Bohemian C.		
	1576 Answ. of Jeremiah.			1575–6 Maulbronn F. B. of Torgau.		
				1577 F. of Concord.		
1580				1580 Book of Concord.		
				1581 Rep. of Anhalt.		
1590					1583 3 Subscr. A.	
				1592 Saxon Visitation Articles.		
					1595 9 Lambeth Articles.	
1600						

Calvinist (Continental).	Calvinist (Brit. and Amer.).	Baptist.	Congregationalist.	Arminian, Methodist, Quaker.	Socinian, or Unitarian.	Date.
1550–1 À Lasco's C. to Ed. VI.						1550
1552 Rhætian C.						
1552 Css. of Geneva.						
1554 Emden C.						
1554 Exiles' C., Frankfort.						
	1555 Knox's Geneva C.					
1559 Last Rev. Calv.'s Inst.						
1559 French C.						
1559 Cs. of Kolosvar & Vasarhely.						
1559 C. of Span. Exiles in London.						
1560–2 C. and Cm. of Debreczen.	1560 Scots C.					1560
1561 Belgic C.						
1562–3 C. of Tarczal and Torda.						
1563 Heidelberg Catechism.						
1566 Dutch C.						
1567–9 Cs. of Debreczen, Kassa, and Várad.						
1570 C. of Czenger.						1570
1570 Css. of Sendomir.						
1571 La Rochelle C.						
1572 Bremen Dn.						
					1574 Soc. C. and Cm., Cracow.	
1575 2nd Boh. C.						
1578 Nassau C.						
		1580 Mennonite C. of Waterland.				1580
	1581 Scots Nat. Cov.					
	1581 Craig's Larger Cm.					
			1582 Browne's St. of Prs.			1590
			1589 London Confession.			
	1590 Craig's Shorter Cm.	1591–1664 Series of Mennonite Confessions.				
1595 Bremen Css.	1595 9 Lambeth Articles.					
			1596 Lond.-Amsterd. C.			
1597 Anhalt C.						
1599 B. of Staffort.						1600

Date.	Græco-Russian.	Roman Catholic.	Waldensian, Mor., Bohem.	Lutheran, New Jerus. Church.	Anglican.	Zwinglian.
1600		1603 Cm. of Bellarmine.				
1610			1609 Boh. C		1615 Irish A.	
1620						
	1625 C. of Metrophanes.					
1630	1631 C. of Cyril Lucar.					
1640	1640 Cm. of Mogilas.					
1650			1655 Waldensian Calv. C.	[1655 'Repeated Css.' by Calovius, ag. Calixtus.]		
1660						
1670		1671 Bossuet's Exposition.			1661 Angl. Cm.	
	1672 C. of Dositheus. Acts of Syn. of Jerus.					
1680						
1690						
1700						

Calvinist (Continental).	Calvinist (Brit. & Amer.).	Baptist.	Congregationalist.	Arminian, Methodist, Quaker.	Socinian, or Unitarian.	Date.
						1600
			1603 Pts. of Difference.		1605 Racovian Catechism.	
1607–8 Hessian Cm. and Confession.						
1607 C. of Heidelberg.						
1607 Cassel C.						
1609 Bohemian C.						
1610 Dutch Remonstrance.				1610 Dutch Remonstrance.		1610
		1611 Armin. Bapt. Dns., Amsterdam.		1611 Armin. Bapt. Dns., Amsterdam.		
1613 Bentheim C.						
1614 C. of Sigism. of Brandenb.	1615 Irish A.					
	1616 Aberdeen C.					
			1617–47 Amer. Minor A.			
1619 Canons of Dort.						
						1620
						1630
1631 C. of Cyril Lucar.						
1631 Leipzig Coll.						
	1638 Scots Cov. Renewed.					
						1640
					1642 Socin. C. by Schlichting.	
	1643 Solemn League & Cov.					
		1644 C. of Seven Chs., London.				
1645 Dn. of Thorn.						
	1646–47 Westm. C., Larger and Shorter Cms.					
			1648 Cambridge Platform, U.S.A.			
						1650
1655 Waldens. C.						
		1656 Somerset Articles.				
			1658 Savoy Declaration.	1658 Earliest Quaker C.		
				1658–1682 Quaker Sts.		
		1660 London C. (Armin.).		1660 London Baptist C.		1660
						1670
				1673 Barclay's Catechism.		
1675–6 Helvetic Css. Formula.				1675 Barclay's Apology.		
		1677 Rec. of Westm. C.				
		1678 Orthodox Creed (Armin.).		1678 Orth. Bapt. Creed.		
			1680 Boston Dn., U.S.A.			1680
						1690
			1691 Heads of Agreement.			
		1693 Keach's Catechism.				
						1700

Date.	Græco-Russian.	Roman Catholic.	Waldensian, Mor., Bohem.	Lutheran, New Jerus. Church.	Anglican.	Zwinglian.
1700						
1720						
1740				[1745–1772 Relig. Wk. of Swedenborg.]		
			1749 Moravian Easter Litany.			
1760	1764 Cm. of Platon.					
				1769 Doct. Summ. of Swedenborg.		
1780	1776 Duty of Parish Priests.					
				1789 Cm. and Liturgy of New Jerusalem Ch.		
1800	Ref. 1800 Russ. Primer.					

Calvinist (Continental).	Calvinist (Brit. & Amer.).	Baptist.	Congregationalist.	Arminian, Methodist, Quaker.	Socinian, or Unitarian.	Date.
						1700
			1708 Saybrook Pm., U.S.A.			
				[1738–1791 Relig. Wk. of Wesley.]		
						1720
						1740
		1742 Philadelphia C. (=1677 C. above).				
				1754 Wesley's Notes on New Test.		
						1760
		1766 Ris' Mennonite Doctrine.				
				1771 Wesley's Authorit. Sermons.		
						1780
				1784 Wesley's 25 A. (Amer.).		
	1787 American Rev. of West. Confession.					
						1800

Date.	Græco-Russian.	Roman Catholic.	Waldensian, Mor., Bohem.	Lutheran, New Jerus. Church.	Anglican.	Zwinglian.
1800					1801 Amer. Rev. of 39 Articles.	
1810						
1820						
1830						
1840	1839-40 Longer & Shorter Catechisms of Philaret.					
1850		1854 Pius IX., D. of Immac. Conception.				
1860		1864 Syllabus.				
1870		1870 Ds. of Vatican Council.	1869 Moravian Summary.			
		1874 14 Old Cath. Th. of Bonn.				
		1875 6 Old Cath. Th. of Bonn.			1875 Amer. Rev. of 39 A., the 35 Ref. Episc. A.	
1880						
1890						
1900						
	1901 C. of Tolstoi.					
		1907 Pius X., New Syll. ag. Modernism.				
		1907-10 Pap. Dns. ag. Modernism.				
1910		1910 Anti-Mod. F.	1911 Rev. Mor. Easter Lit.			

Calvinist (Continental).	Calvinist (Brit. & Amer.).	Baptist, Brethren.	Congregationalist.	Armin., Method., Salvation Army.	Unitarian, Other Churches.	Date.
				1807 Proposed Meth. A.		1800
1818 A. of Union in Palatinate.						1810
	1823 Welsh Calv. Methodist C.					1820
	1829 Cumberland Ch. C., U.S.A.	1833 New Hampshire C., U.S.A.	1833 Dn. of Cong. Union of England.		1830 B. of Mormon.	1830
		1834 C. of Amer. Free-will Baptists.		1834 C. of Amer. Free-will Baptists.	1836–7 Cath. Apost. Tests	
1847 Ev. Ch. C. of Canton de Vaud.					1840 Mormon A.	1840
1848 Ev. Ch. C. of Geneva.						
1849 Const. of Ev. French Chs.						1850
						1860
1869 C. of Seville.			1865 Dn. of Amer. Union.			
1870 Ital. Ev. C.						1870
1872 Dn. of French Ref. Church.		1871 Christad. St. (Birm.).	1871 Oberlin Dn., U.S.A.	1872 Doctrines of the Salvation Army.		
1872 C. of Madrid.					1875 Tenets of Chr. Sc.	
1874 Const. of Free Ch. of Neuchâtel.				1878 A. of War, of the Salvation Army.		
	1883 Cumberland Ch. New Confession.		1883 Commission Creed, U.S.A.			1880
	1890 A. of Presb. Ch. in England.					1890
	1890 A. of Presb. Ch. in China.	1893 St. of Disciples of Christ.				1900
	1901 A. of Presb. Ch. in S. India.					
	1902 Amer. Rev. and New A.					
	1904 C. of Presb. Ch. in India.		1906 Union St., U.S.A.			
	[1908 19 A. of proposed Union in Canada.]		[1908 19 A. of proposed Union in Canada.]	[1908 19 A. of proposed Union in Canada.]		
	[1909 Proposed A. of Union in S. Africa.]	[1909 Proposed A. of Union in S. Africa.]	[1909 Proposed A. of Union in S. Africa.]	[1909 Proposed A. of Union in S. Africa.]		1910

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